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ABSTRACT

This bulletin provides an overview of developmental theory and practice in relation to social studies instruction in K-12 curriculum. In the first of eight chapters developmental theories pertaining to teaching and learning social studies are presented. The theories of Erik Erikson, Jane Loevinger, Jean Piaget, Lawrence Kohlberg, and Robert Selman are discussed. Chapter two describes the rationale and implementation strategies for a social studies program designed to create a "just community" with 8- to 10-year olds. Chapter three summarizes cognitive developmental characteristics of typical middle-school students. It also provides activities and assignments designed specifically to meet the needs of both the concrete and beginning formal operational thinkers. Chapter four focuses on community building activities which function as an integral component of the Carnegie-Mellon civic education project. Chapter five examines the implications of developmental research in the specific context of history teaching at the secondary level. In chapter six, the hypothesis that ethnic identity develops through stages which are similar to some other developmental stages is discussed. The implications of the stages and specific instructional strategies for each stage are given. A rationale for law-related education as a part of social studies curriculum is presented in chapter seven. Chapter eight examines the developmental perspectives presented in the earlier chapters of the bulletin. Future work is proposed in three areas: the clarification of objectives, the creation of developmentally based curricula materials for K-12, and in the refinement of the rationale for developmental social education. (Author/NE)

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Developmental Perspectives on the Social Studies

Linda W. Rosenzweig, Editor

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Bulletin 66

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FOREWORD

In 1960, when Jerome S. Bruner published his pathbreaking book, *The Process of Education,* he argued that any "subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development." Bruner also popularized the structure of the disciplines idea, by which he meant the concepts, generalizations, theories, and methods of inquiry used by scientists.

Bruner's seminal ideas profoundly influenced curriculum development in the physical, biological, and social sciences. Social scientists and educators searched for the structures of the disciplines and developed curriculum projects, textbooks, and other materials to teach students disciplinary structures and social science inquiry methods. Bruner's assertion that students could grasp complex concepts at any stage of development and his focus on the structures of the disciplines were basic tenets of the social studies curriculum movement of the 1960s.

The tests of time and classroom applications have shed considerable light on the strengths and limitations of the structuralist revolution spearheaded by Bruner and his colleagues who participated in the Woods Hole Conference. The search for the structures of disciplines proved to be much more difficult than Bruner and his colleagues envisioned. Most social science disciplines have structures rather than a single structure. A social studies curriculum that only teaches students the structures of the disciplines does not enable them to come to grips with the complex social, economic, political, and ethical problems that are perplexing and polarizing our citizenry. Structuralist theory also does little to relate social studies learning to the cognitive and moral developmental stages of students.

Despite the limitations of the structuralist approach to social studies curriculum development, this movement considerably strengthened the intellectual component of the social studies curriculum, made students more sophisticated about the nature and nuances of social science, and increased their awareness of its assumptions and limitations. Thus, the challenge for social studies educators in the 1980s is neither to eradicate the structuralist reforms of the past two decades nor to stage a counterrevolution. Our challenge is to integrate those reforms into a more reality-based social studies curriculum that focuses more directly on the problems and moral issues of contemporary society and that closely reflects the cognitive and moral developmental stages of students. Social science concepts and theories from disciplines such as sociology, political science, and economics can contribute greatly to students' understandings of social issues such as poverty, war, and environmental pollution. However, the concepts and theories taught to students should be within their intellectual and moral grasp.

There is an urgent need to better match social studies teaching to the cognitive and moral developmental stages of students. This need should be a high priority for social studies educators in the 1980s. However, as this informative Bulletin makes clear, this is a very complex and difficult task. Research by developmental theorists such as Piaget and Kohlberg is limited by its theoretical assumptions and methodological flaws. Any stage theory is inherently restrictive because it attempts to fit new findings and data into preexisting concepts and categories. Yet, the restrictive characteristics of stage theories also help us to bring order to disparate observations, to formulate testable generalizations, and to derive guidelines for educational practice.

Because of their status and nature, developmental theories cannot provide social studies teachers with recipes for matching teaching strategies to the cognitive and moral stages of their students. However, these theories are important because they help teachers to realize that students are at different stages of cognitive and moral growth, that stages are related to chronological age, and that teaching strategies are likely to be more successful if they closely match the maturational levels of students. The developmental theories discussed in this Bulletin can enable social studies teachers to become more perceptive observers of the cognitive and moral growth of their students.

This informative Bulletin will contribute both to increasing teachers' knowledge and sensitivities to the developmental stages of their students and to the dialogue and debate about the most appropriate role of developmental theories in social studies curriculum development. Both goals are highly consistent with the purposes of the National Council for the Social Studies. While the Council constantly tries to help classroom teachers in their daily work, it also promotes discussion and dialogue on important issues in the profession.

I am deeply grateful to Linda Rosenzweig and her colleagues for preparing the papers which constitute this Bulletin. I would also like to thank the NCSS Publications Board and Dan Roselle and his staff for bringing another fine NCSS publication to fruition.

James A. Banks, *President*
National Council for the Social Studies

PREFACE

THE RESEARCH of developmental psychologists addresses the concerns of social studies educators at all levels. Investigations of the processes of individual cognitive, moral, and social development have generated a wealth of data which offer useful insights into students' abilities and needs in the context of social education. Descriptions and reports of developmentally-based theoretical studies and educational interventions (in social studies classrooms and in other areas as well) are scattered through the literature. However, no single volume focuses on the implications of developmental research specifically for the social studies.

This Bulletin represents an effort to provide an overview of developmental theory and practice in relation to social studies instruction at the elementary, middle, and secondary levels. The contributors to this book possess expertise in different areas of the social studies, but they share a common interest in developmental perspectives. Their contributions are representative of the wide range of subject matter with which social studies educators are concerned.

Obviously, one book can illustrate only a few selected aspects of a broad and comprehensive topic which links a rapidly expanding body of empirical research with a major component of the K–12 curriculum. We certainly make no claim that the present Bulletin is exhaustive. Rather, it is intended to present a balanced focus on developmental theory and practice, for the purpose of offering teachers practical guidance as well as theoretical information.

Incorporating developmental perspectives into the social studies curriculum requires more than a list of techniques and strategies accompanied by a summary of the research findings; it is a complex endeavor which asks a great deal more of teachers than merely to jump on a "developmental bandwagon." Indeed, the first task for teachers might be described as the "development" of their own developmental perspectives. It is the purpose of *Developmental Perspectives on the Social Studies* to aid in the accomplishment of this task.

I am grateful to James A. Brown, Geneva Gay, Cheryl Kubelick, Christian Laville, Alan L. Lockwood, and Thomas J. Wyeth for their valuable contributions to this publication. I also wish to acknowledge with special thanks the scholarly assistance and advice of Anthony N. Penna, Carnegie-Mellon University, whose interest and encouragement have been invaluable.

Linda W. Rosenzweig, *Editor*

1.
Overview:
Toward Developmental Perspectives

LINDA W. ROSENZWEIG

THE RESEARCH of developmental psychologists examines the cognitive, social, attitudinal, and emotional processes which individuals experience throughout the life span. The majority of developmental research up to the present has focused on these processes in infants, children, and adolescents. Developmental psychologists' findings have been discussed, analyzed, and critiqued extensively; and their work has stimulated educators to apply developmental theory to the classroom.

A common developmental framework or perspective links the research of scholars working in this area. This framework incorporates conceptions of developmental sequence, structural organization, and interactive experience into an integrated view of human development as a natural process that can be interrupted or arrested at any point. The developmental perspective involves, first, the idea that *development proceeds sequentially through stages which represent qualitatively different and increasingly complex systems.* Second, this perspective includes the related idea that *development requires exposure to experiences that create cognitive dissonance, that force the individual to search for more adequate ways to organize and process ideas and actions.*

Obviously, no brief description of modern developmental psychology can adequately treat the complexities of the theory or fully analyze the implications of the empirical research. Furthermore, full discussions of these areas would not necessarily address the practical concerns of social studies educators, the area upon which this Bulletin focuses. Thus, in an effort to introduce the chapters which follow, this overview will concentrate on those developmentalists whose work is specifically pertinent to the teaching and learning of social studies, with exceptions in the cases of two scholars who have made major contributions to the general understanding of students' development.

DEVELOPMENTAL THEORIES

Erik Erikson

Any discussion of developmental theories must cite the work of Erik Erikson, whose conceptualization of the process of adolescent development has profoundly influenced our thinking about adolescence. Erikson's application of psychoanalytic theory to the study of human development has produced a model of age-related stages which define the process of psychosocial development. The best known of these Eriksonian stages is that which we refer to as the "identity crisis," the stage at which teenagers typically experience extreme conflict and stress as an integral part of the identity formation. (Erikson, 1968, 1959)

Erikson's stages emphasize the unconscious side of human development, rather than the development of thinking skills or ethical or social reasoning; they occur chronologically and inevitably. The Eriksonian conception of development reflects the influence of dynamic psychology in its stress on the resolution of successive crises—the achievement of developmental tasks—which link organic unconscious development with cognitive aspects of growth. This view offers no specific guidance to educators, because it assumes the inevitable unfolding of a developental sequence with no need for educational intervention to facilitate the process. However, Erikson's ideas have contributed significantly to our understanding of the characteristic experiences of adolescence, and thus to our ability to understand students' needs and reactions in an educational setting.

Jane Loevinger

Like the work of Erik Erikson, the research of Jane Loevinger has generated a well developed theory focusing on a major aspect of human growth: ego development. Again, like Erikson's work, her research integrates diverse developmental concerns in the search for a more complete picture of individual development, but it does not imply a facilitating role for teachers.

Loevinger has investigated in depth the evolution of conceptions of the self, the implicit understandings individuals have about themselves and their lives. She suggests that these ideas evolve through a sequence of stages as a result of experiences and interaction with other people. She regards the ego as the core of the human personality which incorporates social, intellectual, and moral growth. (Loevinger, 1976, 1979) Loevinger's extensive empirical studies represent a concerted effort to conceptualize a particularly abstract aspect of development which encompasses all of the mental processes studied by other developmentalists.

Jean Piaget

Among contemporary developmental psychologists whose work seems to have major implications for the classroom, Jean Piaget is perhaps the best known and most frequently cited. His research on cognitive development has influenced the entire field of developmental psychology, and his findings have stimulated scholars in many disciplines.

On the basis of his observations of children's efforts to solve scientific and

mathematical problems, primarily through manipulative tasks, Piaget maintains that individual cognitive development proceeds through a series of age-related stages: the sensorimotor period (birth to 1½–2 years); the preoperational period (1½–2 to 5–6 years); the concrete operational period (6–7 to 10–11 years); and the formal operational period (11–12 years and up). (Piaget, 1928; Piaget and Inhelder, 1969; Inhelder and Piaget, 1958)

Much of his work focuses on infants and very young children. His ideas are complex, and his research cannot be summarized easily. However, his definition of developmental stages and his analyses of the nature of concrete and formal operational thinking, both of which occur in school-age children, have important implications for the teaching of social studies.

First, what exactly does Piaget mean by the notion of cognitive developmental stages? He defines this concept in terms of four major criteria: (Piaget, 1971)

1. Stages are qualitatively different modes of thought. Each stage reflects a distinct thought pattern.

2. Stages form an invariant sequence of development. While development may stop or slow down, it never skips a stage.

3. Stages form structured "wholes." Responses to different tasks or problems at a given stage reflect an underlying organization of thought, despite differences in content.

4. Stages represent increasingly differentiated, hierarchical integrations. Each stage incorporates the preceding stages in a new, more complex structure.

In addition to defining the general characteristics of stages, Piaget outlined the major characteristics of each of the four stages he identified in his research. His conclusions concerning the nature of the concrete and formal operational stages have raised important questions for social studies education. Piaget believes that concrete operational thinkers can solve concrete problems logically. They can focus on more than one aspect of an event or object simultaneously, and they have attained the ability to remember two or more ideas at the same time (conservation). They also have attained reversibility, seriation, classification, and elementary notions of causality; but their thought patterns are limited, because they lack the ability to solve hypothetical, abstract problems.

The development of the ability to use formal operational thinking removes this limitation. Formal operational thinking releases the individual from dependence on the concrete, the familiar, and the present. At this stage, a person can think hypothetico-deductively; he or she can consider various possibilities, solve purely verbal abstract problems, analyze the structure of an argument apart from its content, and reflect on the abstract in the past and the future, as well as in the present.

How does an individual move from concrete to formal operational thinking? Piaget cites four factors to explain stage transition: maturation, equili-

bration, social transmission, and experience.[1] Maturation is a biological process which cannot be facilitated through education. Similarly, equilibration, the process by which the mind assimilates new information and accommodates itself to new challenges, does not depend upon the environment.

In contrast, social transmission, or the influence of the culture on an individual's thinking, does involve environmental factors, including the educational process. The effective assimilation of information presented in school or elsewhere depends in part on "developmental match," the appropriateness of that information to an individual's current cognitive capacities. Thus, a concrete operational thinker can memorize and repeat material presented to him or her—e.g., the definition of a complex abstract concept—without really understanding and assimilating it. The relevance of this factor for curriculum design is obvious.

Likewise, the fourth factor in cognitive development—active experience—is closely related to the educational process. The classroom provides countless interactive physical and mental experiences which stimulate and facilitate intellectual development. Piaget's work suggests that educators should structure such experiences to respond directly to students' developmental needs. A third important type of experience—social interaction—is also characteristic of the educational setting. Thus, it is in relation to experience and to social transmission that the specific relevance of Piaget's research for social studies education must be considered.

Much of the content of the social studies as it is typically presented requires intellectual sophistication that is characteristic of the formal operational thinker. Many aspects of the study of history, government, foreign cultures, responsibilities and rights of citizenship, and the role of law in society involve abstract thinking. The full understanding of the "self-evident truths" upon which our society is structured—ideas of equality, inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—also involves abstract thinking, as does mastery of the skills often required in social studies courses—e.g., analyzing data from charts and graphs, and answering essay questions which demand the abilities to hypothesize and to formulate high-level generalizations. Yet, although Piaget originally placed the onset of formal operational thinking at approximately 12 years of age (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969), other data suggest that the transition occurs much later; indeed, some evidence suggests that only about half of the adult American population ever achieves full formal operational thought. (Kuhn et al., 1971; Kohlberg and Gilligan, 1971)

Piaget himself reexamined his original formulation of the theory of formal operations and advanced three possible reasons to account for the fact that the data do not support his early claims. First, he suggested that the quality and frequency of intellectual stimulation may be the determining factors; without adequate stimulation, formal operations may never develop. Second, he speculated that specific aptitudes and interests which develop as children grow may affect the development of formal thinking; certain individuals may simply fail to develop to their full potential if they lack motivation. Finally, he proposed that formal operational thinking skills may be

[1] Many discussions of stage transition exist in the literature on Piaget. One of the clearest and most useful is in Ginsburg and Oper's summary of Piaget's work.

more content-bound than those of the other three developmental stages; thus, individuals may be capable of formal thought in their own areas of expertise, but may not be able to demonstrate that ability in typical Piagetian experimental settings which emphasize scientific and mathematical problems. (Piaget, 1972)

The preponderance of evidence suggesting that a significant proportion of the population lacks formal operational thinking skills has led critics to argue that Piaget's conception of the highest stage of intellectual development simply does not describe the way the majority of individuals think. The heavy emphasis on scientific thinking, hypothesis testing, combining of variables, etc., in Piaget's model has been the target of critiques which argue that scientific reasoning, as defined by western technological societies, does not necessarily represent the highest stage of cognitive development. (For example, Riegel, 1973; Greenfield, 1976) The possibility that the formal operational stage, as outlined by Piaget, may represent a different type of stage than the other three has also been raised. (Gibbs, 1979) And the fact that Piaget conducted most of his basic research with middle-class children in Geneva has generated questions concerning the validity of his claims of universality for the first three stages as well, and opposition to the theory as culturally biased toward western, democratic, elitist philosophies. (Sullivan, 1967)

Certainly, these critiques (and others) raise important questions and highlight essential areas for further investigation by developmental psychologists. The fact that scholars challenge and reassess his findings does not negate the value of Piaget's work. Nor does it imply that educators should attempt to apply his theory only when and if his claims have been verified in some conclusive sense. But it does point out that efforts to apply the theory to the teaching of social studies (or to any other discipline) should be assessed in the context of the ongoing scholarly inquiry which characterizes the contemporary climate of Piagetian research.

Those efforts that might properly be designated as the first generation of experimental curricula designed to utilize Piaget's theory of cognitive development in educational settings reflect Piagetian approaches in both content and method. Some of these programs have based their educational objectives on developmental stages and have attempted to facilitate the transition to concrete or formal operational thinking. Others have utilized Piaget's constructivist conception of the development of knowledge—his emphasis on the importance of interactive activity in a cognitively rich environment.

In a recent essay, Deanna Kuhn describes and critically examines these Piagetian intervention efforts. (Kuhn, 1979) She argues that the difficulties encountered by educators who have tried to apply Piaget's theory reflect its ambiguities. Thus, she suggests that educators' attempts to implement developmental theory in the classroom and researchers' efforts to produce a more adequate theory of cognitive development must be integrated if further progress in either area is to be achieved. Kuhn's excellent overview of the current state of the art illustrates graphically that, with the exception of science curricula, the major efforts to apply Piaget in educational settings have focused on preschool and elementary school students. (For example, Kamii, 1972, 1973; Lavatelli, 1970; Lawson and Renner, 1975a, 1975b) Hence, despite the relevance of stages of intellectual development for the discipline, a synthesis

between Piagetian theory and practice in the realm of the social studies remains to be achieved.[2]

Lawrence Kohlberg and Robert Selman

Building upon Piaget's investigations of cognitive development, Lawrence Kohlberg and his colleagues have conducted extensive research over the past twenty years to investigate how individuals reason about moral questions. Their longitudinal and cross-cultural studies have identified six stages of cognitive moral development through which they theorize that people pass sequentially. The research evidence indicates that individual development can be arrested at any point, but a person's level of moral reasoning never regresses from a higher to a lower stage.[3]

Kohlberg defines these stages in terms of three levels designated as preconventional, conventional, and principled, each of which consists of two stages. At the preconventional level, an individual's moral world-view is based on considerations of authority, punishment, and reward, Stage 1; or on pragmatic reciprocity, Stage 2. The conventional level orients to respect for the opinions of others and the fulfillment of group expectations, Stage 3; and obedience to the law, doing one's duty, and the maintenance of society, Stage 4. Finally, at the principled level, emphasis is placed on basic human rights and the social contract, Stage 5; and universal principles of justice, Stage 6.

Kohlberg claims that his stages satisfy the Piagetian empirical criteria for structural psychological stages discussed previously. He argues that higher stages of thought are better for solving ethical problems, for distinguishing between values, for integrating differences hierarchically, and for incorporating universal principles. (Kohlberg, 1971a, 1971b, 1973, 1976)

The data suggest that while cognitive moral development occurs naturally in an invariant sequence, relatively few individuals attain the highest stages of thought. Based upon his longitudinal work, Kohlberg locates most American adults at the conventional level, Stages 3 and 4; he believes that only a small percentage, somewhere between five and ten percent, ever reach the principled level. (Kohlberg and Gilligan, 1971)

At least three major factors may account for limited cognitive moral development. First, the research indicates that Kohlberg's stages parallel Piaget's stages of cognitive growth and are preceded by them. For example, the development of beginning Piagetian formal operational thought appears to be a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for the development of Stage 3 moral reasoning; the development of full formal operational thought seems to be a similar prerequisite for moral reasoning at Stages 4 and 5. This relationship suggests that unless and until an individual attains the ability to consider all possible alternatives and to think hypothetically and reflectively, he or she

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[2] In this connection, it is important to note that Piaget himself concentrated his efforts on research, leaving the matter of application to others. In contrast, some developmentalists—Lawrence Kohlberg and Robert Selman, for example—have attempted to implement their theoretical findings in educational settings.

[3] Many summaries of this research exist in the literature on cognitive moral development. Kohlberg's own accounts of his work appear in a wide variety of books and journals, many of which are cited in Linda W. Rosenzweig's, "A Selected Bibliography of Materials About Moral Education Based on the Research of Lawrence Kohlberg," *Social Education*, 40, 4 (April, 1976), 208–212. A clear and readable overview of the theory of cognitive moral development may be found in Richard Hersh, et al., *Promoting Moral Growth: From Piaget to Kohlberg* (New York: Longman, 1979).

cannot develop the ability to understand and employ principled moral reasoning as Kohlberg defines it. (Kohlberg and Gilligan, 1971)

Second, the work of Robert Selman indicates that limited social perspective or role-taking ability may retard cognitive moral development. (Selman, 1976, 1977) Through his investigation of the relationship between social role-taking—the process by which people differentiate their own perspectives from those of others and relate these perspectives to others—and moral reasoning, Selman has identified levels and stages of social perspective which appear to be related to cognitive moral stages. Like Piagetian stages, stages of social perspective precede the parallel stages of moral reasoning. For example, in addition to beginning formal operational thought, Stage 3 moral reasoning requires the ability to assume the perspective of a member of a group; while Stage 4 moral reasoning requires the ability to assume the perspective of a whole society (as well as full formal operational thought).

Finally, given the necessary developmental prerequisites for cognitive moral development, moral stage transition appears to occur mainly through experiencing cognitive conflict in real life or hypothetical moral dilemmas—situations where two or more basic moral issues come into conflict and protagonists face difficult decisions about alternative choices. Hence, Kohlberg believes that people who have completely mastered formal operational thinking skills and have full societal perspectives may not attain the parallel stages of moral reasoning if they do not encounter types of conflict-producing experiences which facilitate stage change.

Both Selman's and Kohlberg's studies seem to have implications for social studies education. The value of broad social perspectives for the meaningful study of virtually any social studies theme or topic seems clear. Like social role-taking ability, the ability to examine the significance of moral and ethical issues beyond their immediate personal consequences would certainly enhance students' abilities to deal with countless complicated social studies questions. Because the moral dimension of human experience is an integral part of any full study of history, politics, world cultures, law, etc., students' cognitive moral development, as well as their social perspective-taking development, may well affect their understanding of social studies content. Hence, development in these areas may be an important factor in determining student readiness to learn in social studies courses.

Kohlberg and his colleagues believe that experiences which facilitate stage change can be provided through educational programs. They have conducted educational interventions in a variety of settings, including public schools, colleges and universities, and prisons.[4] These intervention efforts reflect four basic models: occasional classroom discussions of moral dilemmas; introduction of special courses designed to focus on moral issues through academic and experiential components; extensive infusion of ethical considerations and supplementary materials dealing with moral issues into existing formal curricular materials; and establishment of participatory democratic

[4]Many of these interventions are described in detail in the literature on moral education. For a general survey of Kohlbergian educational interventions, see Linda W. Rosenzweig, "Kohlberg in the Classroom; Moral Education Models," in Brenda Munsey, ed., *Moral Development, Moral Education, and Kohlberg* (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1980), pp. 352-380.

governance structures. Each of these models encompasses concerns that are pertinent to the social studies curriculum, and each has been implemented in the social studies context. (For example, Ladenburg, 1977; Wasserman, 1976; Hedin and Schneider, 1978; Conrad and Hedin, 1977; Mosher, 1978; Colby et al., 1977; Sullivan and Dockstader, 1978; Lickona, 1977; Kubelick, 1977)

Undoubtedly, the most "Kohlbergian" of the Kohlberg-based intervention efforts are those based on the participatory democracy model derived from Kohlberg's idea that democracy can be taught only in a truly democratic society. (Kohlberg, 1970) This "just community" model attempts to provide students with opportunities to process real-life, as well as hypothetical, moral dilemmas in an atmosphere of justice. Kohlberg maintains that the creation of such an atmosphere requires congruence between the hidden curriculum—the way the school (or classroom) is organized and governed—and the formal curriculum—the academic content of specific courses. Among other things, this implies that education for democratic citizenship should occur in a democratic classroom setting. Because this type of intervention extends beyond the parameters of formal course content, it is potentially a very fruitful strategy for enhancing students' moral reasoning abilities. Yet, it is obviously more complicated and difficult than the less comprehensive approaches to moral education in the social studies.

As with any theoretical research, critiques of Kohlberg's work, like those of Piaget's research, highlight the need for additional investigation to assess accurately the validity of his claims. While a full discussion of these critiques is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is appropriate to indicate the substance of the major criticisms and to comment on the implications of these in the social studies context.

Kohlberg's arguments for the universality and invariance of his six stages of moral reasoning and for the existence of Stage 6 have been questioned by scholars who suggest that the empirical evidence fails to document these claims. (Fraenkel, 1976; Simpson, 1974; Gibbs, 1977) Kohlberg himself has recently reevaluated the evidence for Stage 6. (Kohlberg, 1980) Other critiques question the relationship between moral judgment and moral action (Brown and Herrnstein, 1975) and the reliability and validity of Kohlberg's research techniques. (Kurtines and Greif, 1974) The former seems especially pertinent to the concerns of educators who regard improved behavior as the real goal of moral education in any discipline. Additional critical discussions focus on: the possibility that Kohlberg's hierarchical system of moral reasoning is inherently elitist; the notion that his conception of moral maturity invokes an ahistorical, liberal-ideal concept of the moral person; a possible ethnocentric bias reflected in the research model; the neglect of the affective in favor of the cognitive; and the omission of female subjects from the longitudinal research on which most of Kohlberg's claims have been based. (Sullivan, 1977; Simpson, 1974; Peters, 1978; Gilligan, 1977)

With regard to the specific concerns of social studies educators, it is important to note that Kohlbergian interventions, like any effort to apply research in the classroom, presuppose knowledge and expertise that few classroom teachers have either the time or the opportunity to acquire. Thus, in addition to considering whether or not they regard cognitive moral develoment as an

appropriate educational objective, social studies teachers need a certain amount of familiarity with developmental psychological principles and with techniques which appear to be effective in stimulating moral reasoning. (Colby et al., 1977; Byer, 1976; Jones and Galbraith, 1976) In conjunction with the question of the adoption of moral development as a goal, a recent critique of moral education in the social studies discusses the possibility of certain basic incompatibilities between the objectives of political education—which emphasizes the substantive nature of choices—and those of Kohlbergian moral education, which focuses on the underlying reasons for those choices. (Merelman, 1979)

Despite the existence of many unanswered questions of both a theoretical and a practical nature, Kohlberg's theory of cognitive moral development illuminates an important aspect of human development. The moral dimension of human experience is integral to the subject matter of the social studies, and Kohlberg's research is an integral part of the conceptualization of developmental perspectives on the social studies.

The theoretical and applied studies of many other scholars—for example, William Damon (1977), William Perry (1979), Carol Gilligan and John M. Murphy (1979), Peter Scharf (1978), John Whiteley (1978), Ralph Mosher (1978), and James Fowler (1976)—have contributed important insights about specific aspects of individual development. Some of this work has emphasized empirical investigation; some has been primarily concerned with education. The notion that development is, or ought to be, the aim of education is not a new one. John Dewey argued for developmental goals in a classic statement of educational aims. (Dewey, 1963 [1938]) More recently, Lawrence Kohlberg and Rochelle Mayer traced the rationale for a developmental approach to education in a detailed discussion of progressive educational ideology. (Kohlberg and Mayer, 1972) Educators from the preschool to the post-secondary level have attempted developmental interventions based on the progressive-Deweyite position and the data of contemporary developmental psychology.

Social studies educators have been particularly interested and active in this area, undoubtedly due to the nature of the subject matter they teach. As outlined above, Piaget's findings concerning the development of abstract thinking, Kohlberg's conception of the nature of mature moral reasoning, and Selman's studies of the growth of social perspective-taking have clear implications for the study of the political, social, economic, and historical phenomena which constitute the social studies. Despite the unresolved areas, at both the theoretical and practical levels, social studies educators have much to learn from developmental research.

PLAN OF THE BULLETIN

The chapters which follow offer a representative selection of the variety of theoretical and practical efforts on the part of social studies educators to examine and apply developmental perspectives. Chapters 2 and 4 discuss exemplars of successful, developmentally-based programs at the elementary and secondary levels. In "Building a Just Community in the Elementary

School," Cheryl Kubelick describes the rationale and implementation strategies for a social studies program designed to create a "just community" with eight-, nine-, and ten-year-olds. The author and her colleagues at the University of Pittsburgh's Falk Laboratory School utilized Kohlberg's model for school democracy with appropriate modifications to meet the needs of younger children. "Building Community Consciousness in a Comprehensive Civic Education Project" focuses on community-building activities which function as an integral component of the Carnegie-Mellon Civic Education Project's tripartite secondary social studies and English curriculum. Thomas J. Wyeth outlines the project's cognitive developmental rationale, discusses the importance of fostering community consciousness as a part of citizenship education, and describes various exercises and activities designed to work toward this goal.

Chapter 3 emphasizes both theoretical and practical developmental considerations. In "Developmental Transition in the Middle School: Designing Strategies for Social Studies," James A. Brown summarizes the cognitive developmental characteristics of typical middle-school students and provides detailed concrete examples of activities and assignments designed specifically to meet the needs of both the concrete and beginning formal operational thinker and to facilitate the transition process.

Chapter 5, "Teaching and Learning History: Developmental Dimensions," examines the implications of developmental research in the specific context of the teaching of history at the secondary level. Christian Laville and Linda W. Rosenzweig argue that limited cognitive capacities need not necessarily prevent high school students from learning history; and they suggest that the study of history, particularly social history, can be compatible with the abilities of both concrete and formal operational thinkers.

Chapters 6 and 7 apply developmental theory to two areas which span the social studies curriculum from the elementary school through the high school. "Developmental Prerequisites for Multicultural Education in the Social Studies" discusses the hypothesis that ethnic identity develops systematically through stages which are similar, but not identical, to the stages of cognitive development, cognitive moral development, and social development described by Piaget, Kohlberg, and Selman. Geneva Gay summarizes the implications of the stages of ethnic development for social studies instruction and proposes specific instructional strategies appropriate to each. In "Law-Related Education and Legal Development," Linda W. Rosenzweig presents a rationale for law-related education as an integral part of the social studies curriculum. This chapter describes empirical research relating the stages of cognitive and cognitive moral development to the development of conceptions of law and legal socialization and outlines an approach to law-related education based on these findings.

In the concluding chapter, "Strict and Loose Constructionism: Defining and Refining Developmental Social Education," Alan L. Lockwood examines the developmental perspectives presented in the earlier chapters in terms of the degree to which each embodies a tightly structured or a less restrictive definition of developmental education. He suggests that the diversity of approaches represented by the contributors to this Bulletin illustrates the richness and the potential of developmental theory for enhancing the

social studies. He also proposes future work in three specific areas: the clarification of objectives; the creation of solid, developmentally-based curricular materials for K–12; and the refinement of the rationale for developmental social education.

Taken together, the chapters in this Bulletin offer social studies educators an introduction to the potential contributions of developmental perspectives on the social studies. While each addresses a specific area or a specific level, or both, they are all linked by their common concern with the application of contemporary developmental theory for the purpose of strengthening social studies education. Thus *Developmental Perspectives on the Social Studies* represents a joint effort to share the thoughts and experiences of some of the educators who have been participants in what might be characterized as "first-generation developmental social education," and to encourage others to consider both the problems and the possibilities that have emerged.

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2.
Building a Just Community in the Elementary School

Cheryl Kubelick

TEACHING ABOUT DEMOCRACY, one of the basic objectives of social studies in the elementary social studies curriculum, is accomplished efficiently in most schools. Children read about the "Founders of the Nation" in textbooks, go on field trips to government buildings, learn the Preamble to the Constitution by heart, and sing "America the Beautiful" in music class.

Unfortunately, being *efficient* in teaching about democracy has not been very *effective*. The basic tenets of democracy—tolerance, equity, and justice—seem to be lost amid the disruptive behaviors, fighting, name-calling, and the general lack of respect of one person for another.

How can a teacher operationalize the curricular objectives of citizenship training to make a difference in a child's concepts of justice, fairness, and other democratic principles? Can we teach democracy? Can social studies curricular objectives be implemented to deal effectively with the undemocratic, undisciplined behaviors many students exhibit in schools?

John Dewey (1959, p. 53) felt that teachers can create environments where children understand democracy and the principles of justice. He described the school that would be a just community as follows:

> I sum up, then, this part of the discussion by asking your attention to the moral trinity of the school. The demand is for social intelligence, social power, and social interests. Our resources are (1) the life of the school as a social institution in itself; (2) methods of learning and of doing work; and (3) the school studies of curriculum. In so far as the

school represents, in its own spirit, a genuine community life; in so far as what we call school discipline, government order, etc., are the expressions of this inherent, social spirit; in so far as the methods used are those that appeal to the active and constructive powers, permitting the child to give out and thus to serve; in so far as the curriculum is so selected and organized as to provide the material for affording the child a consciousness of the world in which he has to play a part, and the demands he has to meet; so far as these ends are met, the school is organized on an ethical basis. So far as general principles are concerned, all the basic ethical requirements are met. The rest remains between the individual teacher and the individual child.

This chapter describes the rationale and implementation of an effective, successful social studies program at Falk Laboratory School at the University of Pittsburgh that led to an emerging just community. The word "emerging" is significant to the understanding of what the overall achievable results are in implementing the just community model a la Falk. "The just community," according to John Stewart (1975, p. 154), "is not something to reach, it is something to do . . . . [It is] a community trying to promote justice. It is a dynamic movement toward the creation of a more perfect society. It is not a perfect society. It begins where people are and attempts to promote their development to higher structural stages and levels, rather than to try to make them perfect."

What can happen to the individual child interacting in an environment where issues of fairness and justice are pervasive? The research at Falk (Kubelick, 1977) indicated that eight-, nine-, and ten-year-olds who participated in a just community based on Lawrence Kohlberg's model made significant stage changes between pre- and post-tests as measured on the Damon Positive Justice Interview. The Damon stages, which describe children's reasoning ability on justice problems, were found to be closely age-related from four to ten years old. (Damon, 1975) An attitude questionnaire also presented evidence that students perceived the environment as fair and just and retained positive feelings about the program's components and functions. Thus, the investigation illustrates the possibility of creating an environment where intellectual, affective, and social growth are achievable outcomes.

The Falk teachers who participated in the design and implementation of the just community expressed a variety of reservations about the amount of time that a social studies program based on moral education would require. Would it be worth it? How would it improve the student's reading, writing, and mathematics skills? Could a social studies program really do anything to eliminate the problems of lack of respect and hostility and aggression between individuals, age groups, and classrooms?

In fact, the program succeeded in enhancing the developmental psychological growth of children and in creating a citizenship program that eliminated, or at least controlled, the preponderance of discipline problems and unhealthy attitudes. There was actually more time for meeting academic goals, since the social environment functioned smoothly and problems were dealt with systematically.

This chapter cannot include all of the details involved in building the environment where, as Dewey (1909, p. 43) idealized, "the curriculum is so selected and organized as to provide material for affording the child a consciousness of the world in which he has a part to play." The moral education approach was pervasive throughout the day in student-teacher interactions, in the general curriculum, in gym, reading, and in conversations with parents. The teachers espoused an attitude that was fundamentally positive and basically developmental in perspective. This is not to say the environment was perfect—remembering that it is the "emergence" of the just community that establishes it as an environment where problems become opportunities for growth.

Certain fundamental assumptions for creating an environment conducive to cognitive restructuring and moral growth were structured first into the social studies curriculum and then into the core curriculum at Falk. These assumptions, or, as Kohlberg calls them, "conditions," include: role-taking opportunities, conflict situations that stimulate moral discussions, problem-solving opportunities, dialogue among peers in small groups, exposure to higher stage reasoning, and participation in a classroom structure perceived as just and fair by the students. Theoretically, such an environment will foster higher levels of reasoning about issues of fairness and justice and will improve the child's ability to take the perspective of others. (Kohlberg 1970)

THE SETTING AND COMPONENTS

Falk School is the Campus Laboratory School for the University of Pittsburgh. It consists of approximately 300 children and 18 faculty members. Classrooms of 22 to 26 students range from Kindergarten through Middle School.

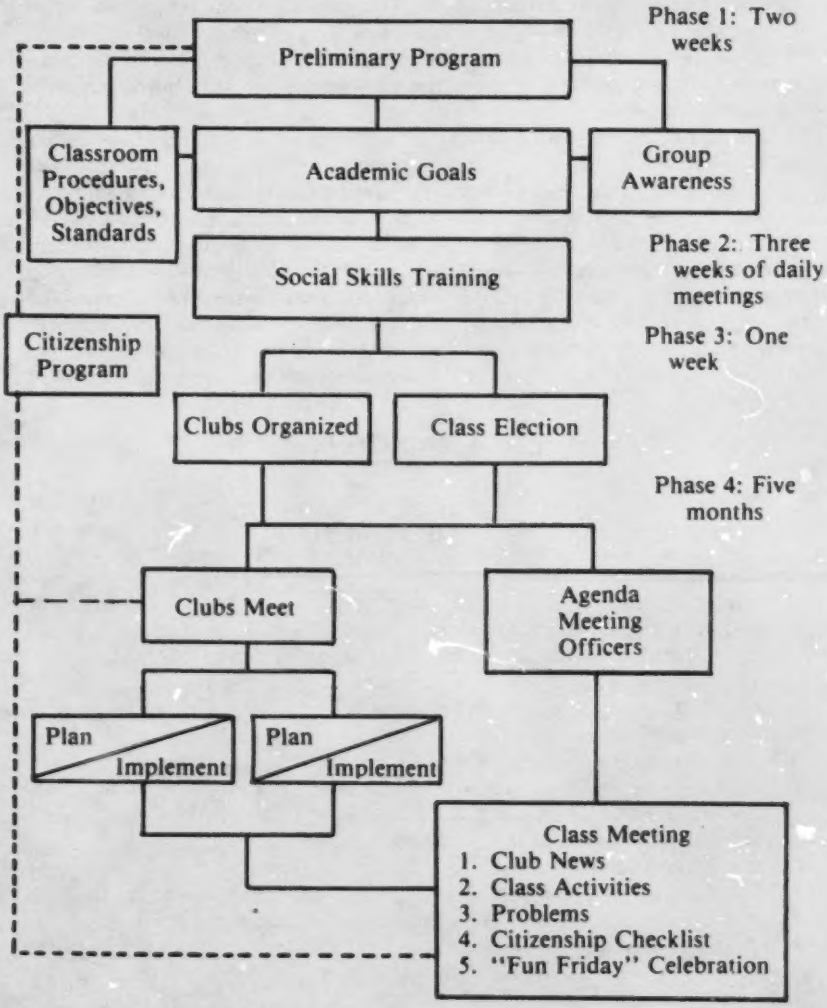
Through the years, Falk Laboratory School demonstration teachers have successfully utilized the Personalized Progress Plan of small group instruction in an informal atmosphere. The philosophy of the school is one of respect for individual differences, and teachers are dedicated to motivate a child to meet his or her highest potential in academic, emotional, and physical development in order to function well as a citizen.

The just community was implemented in the intermediate grades, which included four multi-aged classrooms of 24 students each, ages eight, nine, and ten. Four teachers and an aide managed the instruction of the children and supervised several university student-teachers.

The basic components of the Falk School Just Community included clubs, class meetings, a citizenship program, and an ongoing social skills training program. These components—a combination of ideas drawn from group dynamics techniques, the Falk School social studies curriculum, and other classroom management methods and strategies—were deliberately and systematically integrated into all four classrooms in an effort to provide the conditions for moral development listed above and to meet the needs of the Falk Intermediate program.

The Social Skills Development Plan, an intensive plan for training students to function within the community, consisted of four phases as illustrated in Diagram 1 and summarized briefly below.

Diagram 1. SOCIAL SKILLS DEVELOPMENT PLAN



Phase 1 was a preliminary program whereby the classrooms were organized in three dimensions: room procedures, academic goals, and group awareness. Concurrent with the preliminary program and contributing to the implementation of phases one, two, three, and four, the citizenship program was introduced to students during the first week of school.

Phase 2 consisted of a three-week training program of forty-minute daily sessions where children learned the purpose of problem-solving groups, the dynamics of fair decision-making in groups, the process of parliamentary procedure that facilitates smooth group functioning, and other communications skills that improve listening and role-taking skills. Activities included games, movies, discussion groups, filmstrips, and role-playing. These activities served as preparation for the third and fourth phases of the social skills intervention.

Phase 3 lasted about one week or about five forty-minute sessions. This phase had two main goals: the organization of students into small club groups and the preparation of the class for student-directed class meetings.

Phase 4 continued for the rest of the year. It required two thirty-minute periods a week. During one period, small club groups convened to plan activities. The second period was a class meeting in which club reports were given, classroom news shared, problems discussed, and decisions made about classroom concerns. The social experience of Phase 4 extended and stabilized the social skills developed in the previous phases and structured community life in a form that was conducive to moral development.

PHASE 1: THE PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

Establishing procedures, objectives, standards. Classroom procedures, responsibilities, and rules are typical considerations for a teacher at the beginning of the year. However, a new element was added in our planning. In keeping with the cognitive moral development approach, the teacher could not organize the jobs, the rules, or the procedures alone. The students needed to have a chance to offer suggestions and comments in establishing these structures. The teacher set the objectives. "What jobs will help our room stay comfortable and attractive?" "What procedures will help our day run smoothly?" "What kind of behavior do we like to see in ourselves and our classmates?" After the students and teachers offered ideas, discussed items, and reached a consensus, the final list met the approval of the group; a sense of pride took root, and every child understood the jobs, procedures (routines), and rules (standards). Implementation of each of these would need several weeks of practice and reinforcement, but there was no question as to why these structures existed.

The general rules for the Intermediate group were created by the students in each homeroom. The teachers used group dynamics techniques to facilitate the process. First, categories of "where rules may be needed" were brainstormed and listed on the board. In groups of five, children generated ideas for each category. The lists were compiled, ordered, and consolidated from all four Intermediate classes. Certain ideas were diplomatically eliminated

and the remaining items were voted on. The teachers anticipated what kinds of rules the children would suggest and which would be needed; thus, they were ready to guide the discussion as necessary. Guidance was necessary to help students restate their suggestions in a positive, constructive way so that: "Don't run in the hall" became "Walk in the hall." The team had carefully selected the word "standards," rather than "rules," to give children the positive feeling of growing toward a more perfect community, rather than the punitive feeling when one breaks a rule. The standards were attractively displayed in each homeroom and referred to when necessary.

In establishing room responsibilities, the students decided that there should be a job for everyone in the room and that jobs should be rotated weekly. Thus, each job needed to be carefully defined, and a method for keeping track of these was devised. As the week went on, jobs were evaluated, and some were replaced by jobs of greater importance. Some procedures became very complex but met the students' perceptions of "fairness." An example of a student-initiated solution was the order for lining up to go through the halls (a necessity in a small, cramped building). Through group discussion and decision making, it was decided that children would proceed in alphabetical order in two lines, A and B. The privilege of leaving the room first rotated daily between lines A and B. Front alphabetical order and reverse order rotated weekly. A large monthly calendar, drawn and decorated by a student group, was coded to keep track of the system. Students felt a sense of accomplishment after designing such an equitable method and took pride in managing the complex system.

The preceding examples illustrate the ways the teachers felt they could begin to share classroom responsibilities with students. Each room developed procedures for its own needs, but with attention to how those plans influenced the larger group. Through active involvement in relevant decision-making and problem-solving, children developed a sense of commitment to a community they created.

Establishing academic goals. Falk School has successfully met the academic needs of the child through the Personalized Progress Plan which allows individuals to move at their own rate in all curricular areas. The Personalized Progress Plan is built on the philosophy that each child is unique and should be challenged in the direction of his or her potential. To do this, teachers and students continuously interact regarding effort and performance, and in setting academic goals. Thus, the total school philosophy as well as that of the "just community" intervention model are consistent with the Kohlbergian conditions discussed in Chapter 1. Students are actively involved in their world, and they understand the expectations and the contingencies for success or failure. This understanding fostered student perceptions of the class as fair and just.

Establishing group awareness. An important dimension of the preliminary program focused on fostering positive attitudes toward individuals and the group, a necessary component of a "just community" experience. The team planned a sequence of group-interaction activities which became

progressively less teacher-directed and more peer-oriented. The first activity was making personal heralds. Children drew pictures or invented symbols on muslin to represent their favorite activities, foods, etc. Each student had a chance to share his or her herald with the group. Resistant children were asked questions to help guide their explanations.

Brainstorming was utilized in the preliminary program and throughout the year. This group-dynamics technique encouraged everyone to contribute in a non-threatening atmosphere, because ideas were not evaluated. It is also the first step in problem-solving. Hence, it proved to be a useful way to promote positive attitudes.

In order to have the four classrooms achieve a sense of togetherness, the 80 intermediate children were divided into teams of four. The teams were carefully mixed to include representatives from each homeroom, age group, and sex. Groups had designated meeting areas, and a group leader was selected by the teacher. The leader knew that his or her responsibility was to call on each person to speak to the group about a favorite food, or sport, or activity. After introductions of members of the group, the group's goal was to create a mobile that would symbolize the cooperation and togetherness of the 80 children, teachers, and aides.

Another important aspect of group awareness was the students seeing the teachers working as a team, cooperating with one another, demonstrating tolerance of problems, supporting each other in decisions, and showing genuine interest and concern for the children. Team teaching strongly influenced students' feelings that this was a trusting, caring environment. Along with presenting positive attitudes, the team continued deliberately to plan activities that nurtured positiveness.

The students were told what to expect and were encouraged to be flexible when the situation warranted. They seemed to function confidently, owing to the structure of the school day. Flexibility was encouraged simply by complimenting students when they showed that trait or by reminding them that flexibility was necessary.

The room jobs offered children many opportunities to be flexible. The child in charge of morning attendance learned to tolerate slow-moving classmates or missing lunch-reservation forms. Since jobs rotated, each child became aware of the responsibilities of each job and tried to cooperate with the helper. For example, children were asked to take the role of the helper: "Put yourself in Joan's place; she's responsible for the lunchroom dismissal. If she has to clean up your papers, she'll miss her play period. Remember when you were lunchroom helper?" A well accomplished task deserved individual and group compliments; for example, "This room is certainly organized and responsible."

Establishing the citizenship program. The citizenship program, introduced during the preliminary program, served as a feedback device throughout all phases of the social skills development plan. The feedback process, initially a teacher-directed activity, became the students' responsibility by Phase 4.

The strategy for the citizenship program was based on the concepts of

group process in the classroom described by Schmuck and Schmuck (1971) and the training techniques suggested for effective group behavior advanced by Matthew Miles (1973). This strategy served to: (1) establish norms and identify social skills; (2) train individuals to analyze problems and create methods for solving them; (3) help the group set goals; (4) develop awareness that a smoothly functioning group is contingent on each individual's contribution; (5) provide a group experience that promoted cohesiveness and pride; and (6) provide a training procedure for self-reflection.

Each child was required to keep a checklist of behavior items in his or her desk. The seven or eight behavior items on the list included, for example: "I sit in my chair properly, I say please and thank you, I make appropriate comments, etc." Behaviors were well defined and helped to make the room standards more concrete. Items did not relate to academic work assignments, although "I use my time efficiently" touched on this area. The students, as a group, agreed on the necessary items for a two- to four-week period. When one item seemed to be well under control—e.g., no one had misused the furniture—it was replaced by another item that warranted attention—e.g., the lineup after lunch was too slow. Each week the teacher reviewed each child's private checklist, analyzed the items, and added up the points for all of the children. If the group as a whole accumulated a given number of points, the children celebrated their efforts on Friday ("Fun Friday") afternoons with activities such as sharing comic books, decorating cupcakes, skating, viewing movies, competing in bubble-gum blowing contests, making popcorn, sharing hobbies, and playing games and popular records. Thus, individuals had a sense of pride in their individual accomplishments for the week and in their contributions to the group.

Students knew the consequences of not having a minimum number of items checked. After three weeks of low ratings without any penalty, the student had to discuss the problems directly with the teacher in the fourth week. In the fifth week, with no positive change, the parents and the principal were contacted. At that point, the individual might be excluded from the Fun Friday group celebration—an alternative that was rarely needed.

The citizenship checklist items did not provide absolute standards for evaluation. Rather, they were clear specifications of behavior conducive to the smooth functioning of the group, as perceived by students as well as teachers. The citizenship program was not imposed on the children, but was presented as a means to promote effective group interaction. Students had some latitude in changing the strategy, but the guidance of the teacher was necessary to prevent destructive competition among students, alienation, and evasion of responsibilities.

There are interesting implications for cognitive moral development in this technique. If it is used solely as a contingency management reward situation, it may work; but the level of reasoning implicit in this approach would match the level of reasoning of most eight-, nine-, and ten-year-olds (i.e., Stage 2). In order for the checklist to stimulate higher levels of reasoning, particularly Stage 3, discussions must relate to the welfare of the group and to the definition of behaviors that promote an effective classroom setting and social en-

vironment. Citizenship checklists also provided a focus for relevant discussion during class meetings; this will be discussed below in relation to moral development.

PHASE 2: SOCIAL SKILLS TRAINING

By the third week of school, the Intermediate classes were ready to begin Phase 2 (see Diagram 1). The training was implemented during social studies period from 2:30 p.m. to 3:10 p.m., Tuesday to Friday, and in other homeroom periods as decided by the four teachers.

Training in social skills was designed to help students to accomplish four major goals: (1) identify characteristics of groups; (2) apply group characteristics to the classroom group; (3) develop skills needed to interact in a group; and (4) appreciate and value the benefits of a smoothly functioning group. These skills and understandings seemed to be basic for developing students' abilities to function in the "just community" framework. Specific experiences planned to achieve these goals are described below:

Talk about groups. After a kickball game, students defined the characteristics of the teams according to a sociological definition of groups which emphasizes four common characteristics: common goals (What is the goal in playing kickball?); shared meanings or norms of behavior (What rules of the game do we all need to know?); interactions (How do we act upon each other while playing?); and interdependence (When do we depend on each other?). Other activities included cutting pictures of groups from magazines and explaining how each picture illustrated the characteristics of a group, and analyzing groups on television and in the school.

Observe a group. A field trip to Old Economy, the site of the community established by the Harmony Society in Ambridge, Pennsylvania, provided a challenging opportunity to observe how the Harmonists acted in a group. The teachers diagnosed students' comprehension of the concepts through group discussions. Four observational activities focusing on concepts and tasks of varying degrees of complexity accommodated individual differences:

Group I—Group Interdependence

1. Look for the jobs or types of work that were needed to keep Old Economy running.
2. Assignment: Draw a picture of one of the jobs the people had, or list as many of the different occupations needed to run the community as you can.
3. What are the jobs we have in Intermediate? What do we depend on each other to do? List the jobs.

Group II—Interactions

1. Look for the things that the people of Old Economy did together.
2. List the things that the people did together at Old Economy. Put a "T"

for *Today* in front of things we still do today in our communities.
3. What do we do together in Intermediate? Write a short paragraph.

Group III—Shared Purposes, Goals
1. Look for the goals or purposes that the people had for setting up their community in Pennsylvania. Can you figure out what the word *millennium* means?
2. Write a paragraph telling about the history of Old Economy. Tell the reasons it was established and the goals of the settlement.
3. What are the goals of Intermediate students? What is the purpose of having reading, mathematics, science, and swimming? Why do you think you are in school?

Group IV—Shared Meanings—Norms of Behavior
1. Look for the norms of behavior of the Harmonists in Old Economy. A *norm of behavior* is a way that people in a group expect themselves and others to act.
2. Use your memory or a dictionary to define these words: celibacy, communal (or communitarianism), pacifism, pietism. After you know what these mean, write a paragraph explaining the norms of behavior of the people at Old Economy.
3. How do we expect the members of the Intermediate group to act? Make a list of the ideas we share and special ways we understand each other.

Act in a group. After the field trip, teachers implemented a small-group activity. First, students with similar tasks were grouped to combine their observations into a more complete statement. Then, students were regrouped to include one "expert" from each observation group. Each of these groups discussed the four group characteristics of the Harmonists. Listening skills were practiced by having the three listeners restate the points made by the speakers. For this activity, students were mixed according to homeroom, age, sex, and various levels of observational tasks. A second, related activity was to make a chart defining how intermediate students act in a group. To provide additional experience in task-oriented small groups, the teachers introduced a puzzle game. Teams of five students put five puzzles together without taking puzzle pieces from each other and without talking. After guessing the name of the game—cooperation—students discussed their feelings during the game and problems they had in achieving their goal.

Simulate a formal group meeting. In groups of five, students role-played a meeting, using rules of parliamentary procedure to move the discussion. A student chairperson opened the meeting and proceeded to discuss a simple problem presented by the teacher, such as: "Name the continents and oceans (or Name the four food groups), and give examples of each." The chairperson directed the discussion by recognizing members with contributions and calling for a vote to make decisions. A secretary took notes. With each round of new problems to solve, the roles of chairperson and secretary rotated within the group. The teacher reminded students of the vocabulary and use-

ful phrases to use: "I move," "I second the motion," "The chair recognizes," etc.

The small groups provided: (1) practice in the procedures and verbal responses useful in organized meetings; (2) experience in taking a leadership role in a structured non-threatening situation; and (3) opportunities to work with others to solve a problem using a methodology. This activity, or some adaptation of it, is an appropriate vehicle for both elementary and middle-school students.

Role-play hypothetical problems. Role-playing was a very useful group-dynamics technique that also facilitated moral development. The following hypothetical dilemma was based on fairness in distribution of materials. First, the teacher set the stage by describing a conflict on the playground where a student named Jody said that Jean and Kim were not sharing the ball. Three members of the class volunteered to role-play. The role-players for Kim and Jean stated reasons why they did not feel it was necessary to share the room ball, and the role-player for Jody stated reasons why they should. Several times during the role-play, the teacher stopped the action and stimulated the discussion by asking the class what arguments they would give to support each side.

After several points had been made on each side of the argument, the teacher asked the students to reverse roles—step into the other person's shoes—to give reasons to support the opposite viewpoint. After the role-play, the teacher asked what a teacher should do in such a situation. Providing role-taking opportunities within the structure of a hypothetical dilemma met important conditions for moral development. Children were asked to see a situation from another point of view, thus challenging their egocentric perspectives. The hypothetical dilemma discussion also provided a safe, structured forum for learning how to discuss problems; and it prepared students for the discussions of actual dilemmas that occurred in the classroom or on the playground, which became one of the functions of the class meeting, described below under Phase 4 (pp. 26–28).

Analyze effective group leadership. A mini-unit on leaders—a part of the existing Falk School curriculum—linked leadership experiences in the "just community" with formal content.

Based on pre-test results, students worked on one of three activities: listing the names of leaders from United States history; writing about a historical leader's life; or reporting on a contemporary leader and then identifying effective leadership actions and decisions.

To stimulate interest and motivate task completion, the teachers initiated a related large-group project that required input from everyone. The students showed what they learned about American leaders by painting hopscotch patterns on the playground. This ongoing project required several sessions of teacher/pupil planning. Important considerations were brainstormed: "What should be the shape of the hopscotch? What colors can be used? What leaders should be commemorated and why?"

Participate in decision-making groups. Teacher/pupil planning became a technique utilized in subsequent social studies units. It modeled a leadership role to students that was guiding rather than autocratic, promoted cooperation and support rather than competition, and demonstrated what it means to come to a consensus. Students began to emulate this style of planning in other subject areas, including mathematics and science.

PHASE 3

In Phase 3, clubs and class meetings were introduced. Structuring these two components into the curriculum provided continuing reinforcement of the social skills learned in Phases 1 and 2 and assured the inclusion of the conditions for moral development through a system of self-governance.

The citizenship program, introduced in Phase 1, continued as a feedback mechanism for the groups' social functioning. However, in Phase 4, students took responsibility for maintaining the program.

Elect officers. By mid-October, the teachers began to organize the homeroom elections. One method used at Falk was a two-party system whereby children were assigned to either the "Inside-Out Party" or the "Upside-Down Party." Each party had a convention to nominate candidates, and the teacher modeled the role of leader, using modified parliamentary procedure to run each party's convention. The parties campaigned with buttons and signs, candidates gave convincing speeches, and the registered party members showed their cards, voted, and anxiously awaited the returns. This design gave many children the chance to run for office, as every party member was nominated at least once.

Organize clubs. Children chose a club from a list of ideas they had generated. Teachers tried to be as fair as possible in giving everyone his or her first or second choice. Club size was kept to about four to eight members, so that students could feel comfortable in a small group and so each student could have a leadership role. The teacher promoted the clubs by motivating and initiating ideas and projects which children could share with the whole community.

PHASE 4

Phase 4 continued for five months, or the remainder of the school year. Each week, students became more in control of skills learned in earlier phases, took more responsibility for the social environment, and developed higher stage moral reasoning.

Class meetings. Class meetings, lasting for fifteen to thirty-five minutes, were held at least once a week in each of the four homerooms. Before convening the meetings, the officers met with the teacher to plan an agenda. Classmates, invited to contribute agenda items to the officers, suggested a range of topics from pencil stealing to the need for getting a classroom ball.

Besides dealing with agenda items, the students discussed club activity plans and tried to solve problems regarding the maintenance of the intermediate standards and possible modifications of certain classroom formats, structures, and procedures. For example, one homeroom group decided that the problem of the science materials being misplaced necessitated a new method for cleanup. Students treated each item seriously as a result of the teachers' skills in guiding the discussion and promoting responsible student behavior.

The citizenship checklist, described in Phase 1, was a source of substantive controversy and discussion during the class meetings. Deciding which items should be added to or eliminated from the checklist was a relevant problem-solving activity for children of this age. With the checklist as a motivational vehicle, students established norms of behavior that were appropriate to their world. Topics included: raising hands to speak, moving to the front of the lunch line, and using the hall pass. As a result of these discussions, students knew what was expected of them and what to expect from others. Students were actively involved in rule-making and standard-setting. The process that teachers modeled, and students eventually were able to implement in discussing the citizenship program, is a group-process technique described by Matthew Miles (1973). It involved the following:

1. Isolating and defining a desired behavior (intention).
2. Trying out the behavior (action).
3. Collecting evidence on how the attempt worked out (feedback or results).
4. Noting discrepancies from the original intention (desired behavior) as a basis for further refinement and correction of behavior.

Discussions about "Fun Friday" incorporated role-playing opportunities, another condition for moral development, as exemplified here. As students planned for an activity for the Friday celebration, they needed to consider each other's wishes. Often, majority rule was the solution, but other considerations regarding the minority prevailed. For example, how does Joey feel about a bubble-gum contest—he wears braces? Matthew doesn't want to go ice skating at all!

Children began taking others' viewpoints into consideration and making concessions—Joey decided that regardless of his situation, he would be happy to judge the contest. Matthew didn't want to skate; but, through discussion, the class realized that he had never skated and was a little afraid. Once the decision was made, students assumed responsibility for bringing in bubble gum or finding out the cost of skate rental.

As trust and respect developed, students began to deal with serious problems involving interpersonal relationships. An interesting conflict arose between nine-year-old Bob and nine-year-old Julie. Julie collected classmates' names on a petition stating reasons that Bob was a bully and a smart aleck. In the class meeting, various stages of reasoning were obvious as children discussed the fairness of the petition, the function of petitions, the problem described by the petition, and the appropriateness of petitions in the community. More mature students were able to take roles—to put themselves in the places of Bob and Julie during the discussion. Resolution of the problem was never fully achieved; but, after the meeting, the teacher counseled both Julie

and Bob regarding their differences. The next day the two children were involved in a non-threatening small-group project which helped restore communications between them. This type of real-life problem was a catalytic event for a meaningful social studies unit on conflict resolution in a democracy.

The teacher's role in class meetings was to (1) help the president plan agendas; (2) remind students of rights and responsibilities during meetings; (3) act as a member of the group; (4) offer higher stage reasoning in discussions of justice or fairness (by using questioning strategies); (5) motivate the development of cooperative projects; and (6) explain the teacher's responsibility and functions when a veto was necessary.

The teacher's handling of the veto, although seldom exercised, is an issue beyond the scope of this chapter. In the Falk School "just community" setting, the adult was first among equals. He or she communicated to students that teachers have a responsibility for the health, welfare, and safety of individuals, as well as of the group; that the basic goal was to provide the highest quality education possible; and that decisions in this area were solely in the teacher's domain.

The class meeting offered students a governance structure through which they could express their views. Its function was to promote controlled and open exchange of opinions about fairness, an essential condition for the moral development of individuals in the community.

Clubs. Clubs, organized in Phase 3, met every Wednesday from 2:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. Focusing on diverse interests—from the strategic games and codes club to the cooking club—each rotated leadership roles and responsibilities. Minutes were kept, and a constitution with by-laws was formulated. The clubs were a source of conflict, which promoted interaction of students in small groups, another condition for moral development. By midyear, a much more cooperative spirit was evident in the clubs; fewer students wanted to switch or quit, and projects were completed. For example, the anthropology club made all the necessary arrangements for a speaker from Carnegie Institute to talk on the excavation at Meadowcroft in western Pennsylvania; this required phone calls, scheduling of the cafeteria, introduction of the speaker, and appropriate "thank you" notes. Pride was obvious as club member Susan hung up the phone after making the arrangements and stated, "I did it, I'm only nine years old, and I did it."

Another club activity involved preparing special fund-raising booths for a fair. Proceeds from the fair were used to finance a class trip. The important outcome was that club members were responsible for watching booths, keeping track of the money, and trying to help all guests enjoy themselves.

The clubs also provided interesting problem-solving opportunities. For example, the science club planned a science fair and enthusiastically invited another class without informing the teachers. Enthusiasm did not complete the project on time—the guest class was disappointed, and the teacher was annoyed. This incident inspired the very relevant problem-solving activity of monitoring club affairs to avoid faulty planning or conflicts in scheduling. From this incident, the students developed a "petition for special events."

The form required specific information—dates, plans, and purpose of a club's activity—that had to be submitted to the teachers two weeks in advance of the date. The team of teachers acted as a clearinghouse and coordinating center.

The Falk School Just Community Model might be considered a pioneer effort to provide real-life practical applications for classroom teachers. It was derived from an "ideal" based on developmentalists' rationales and group-process techniques. While this Deweyesque model of citizenship education was put into effect in the elementary grades, imaginative middle-school and high-school teachers can adopt many of the techniques for having children directly involved in making a social organization function through democratic means.

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3.
Developmental Transition in the Middle School: Designing Strategies for Social Studies

JAMES A. BROWN

IN TERMS of the total life-span, the transition from pre-adolescence to early adolescence is a metamorphic development of monumental proportions, having extraordinary consequences for the individual and widespread implications for social studies educators. Dramatic changes occur at this time in the areas of physical, mental, emotional, and social growth and development. Not only is the overall transition into adolescence highly significant, but the customary uneven rates of change in these areas, either independently or through interaction, often result in complex patterns of development which necessitate important considerations for teaching and learning. Intra-individual variability in growth and development is often equalled or surpassed by inter-individual differences. Both types of variation make descriptive statements, such as, "He is a thirteen-year-old boy," quite meaningless.

Compounding such variability in this transitional period are the differences between the sexes, particularly in physical maturation, as girls at this time are usually considerably ahead of boys. Such precocity in one area may influence (not always in a positive manner) social, emotional, and, consequently, intellectual development. What social studies teaching/learning activities, for example, are best suited for the thirteen-year-old girl who could easily be mistaken for eighteen and is interested in the role of women in society, but who, in all other areas of development, is solidly in the concrete operations stage? Prudent selection and effective implementation of instructional practices are thus essential in these middle-school years. It is also imperative that an understanding of the extent and variability of all facets of human development forms the basic guiding principle in designing appropriate social studies strategies.

FACTORS INFLUENCING DEVELOPMENTAL STRATEGIES

Before developmental strategies can be considered, it is necessary to examine the particular aims or objectives which they are intended to serve. Because of various and sometimes conflicting educational philosophies, each with its own particular values, aims, and objectives, it is obvious that a developmental perspective would be more compatible with some than with others. To relate the nature and aims intrinsic to developmental theory to prevalent educational philosophies and practices, it is necessary to examine briefly three relevant factors upon which the success of developmentally-oriented strategies is contingent—the process of developmental progression, the nature of social studies, and the perceived role of the middle school.

(A) The Process of Developmental Progression

In terms of Piaget's theory (1969), middle-school students are in either the concrete operational or formal operational stage. A great deal of empirical research already shows that virtually all children acquire concrete operations, while even some adults do not attain the more advanced formal operations stage. Since there is no sudden break between these two stages, many middle-school students may be in a period of transition between stages, where their mental operations are not consistent and may vary according to the nature of the task. Although Piaget set approximate age ranges for the stages—for example, beyond 12 for formal operations—Hallam's study (1969) revealed that most of the pupils below the chronological age of 16.2 were reasoning at the concrete level "when tested on the use of historical data." Such variability, which seems to occur when the subject content is more abstract and unfamiliar (Sinnott, 1975), should be especially important for instructional planning in the social studies.

The promotion and/or attainment of formal operations would seem to be a legitimate major educational objective of developmental theory and practice at the middle-school level. More specific developments or operations which are widely perceived as desirable in their own right are concomitant with the attainment of formal operations, and affect qualitatively the individual's intellectual, social, moral, and emotional behaviors. For example, higher-order thinking strategies enabling hypothetico-deductive thought, thought about the non-present, and the consideration of three or more personal or social perspectives simultaneously are possible at this stage. Other examples of objectives often associated with a developmental orientation are the promotion of intellectual curiosity, creative and independent thinking, and objectives of a socio-emotional nature, such as respect for oneself and others. It is assumed that all these developments are desirable for, and will contribute to, good citizenship, a pervasive goal for social studies education.

It might seem logical that social studies strategies in the middle school be designed to effect or accelerate the transition from concrete to formal operational thinking. Many training studies (Kuhn, 1979) have attempted this in controlled situations with minimal or no success. In seemingly successful attempts, the interpretations of the findings are often quite controversial.

Piaget's own view is that such development takes much time, and therefore is a long-term goal. To him, it is "not how *fast* we can help intelligence grow but how *far* we can help it grow." (Duckworth, 1979, p. 303)

Learning strategies, then, should provide frequent experiences which require each student to maximize the use of his or her mental capacities while interacting with a broad range of social studies content. In middle-school classes, this will necessitate the inclusion of both concrete and formal operational tasks. The prime responsibility for the teacher is, through observation of student task behavior, to select experiences which extend and challenge the capacities of as many students as possible within their present stages of development.

Diagnosis of individual attainment in dealing with various types of content (e.g., concrete, abstract, historical, moral) will provide cues as to when the level of task difficulty may be increased. Gradual increases can be beneficial in promoting development, so long as the new tasks result in understandings through the use of higher-level mental processes, rather than in misunderstandings because the task is beyond the individual's present capabilities. Stage progression will occur at the appropriate period of time if the learning experiences provide opportunities to challenge, but not overwhelm, the existing mechanisms of comprehension.

(B) The Nature of Social Studies

The aims and objectives of a developmental approach center on the learner more than on specific content or subjects in the curriculum. The extent to which a subject is in harmony with the goals of a developmental approach depends largely on how that subject is conceived. Social studies has, through its evolution, been seen in quite different ways. For example, Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) outline three traditions in the conception of social studies—social studies as citizenship transmission, as social science, and as reflective inquiry. It is more likely, for example, that a teacher will consider various areas of the learners' development if he or she is committed to some form of inquiry theory. Nevertheless, whether a teacher sees social studies in one of these three ways, or conceives of social studies as social criticism, as policy studies, as individual self-fulfillment, or in some other way, it is possible to give the development of cognitive and affective processes of students important consideration.

Strategies can be designed to promote individual development within a social studies context by considering the nature of the learner, as well as the conception of the subject, and by examining and balancing the interaction between them. Presentation of factual content or the attempt to force understanding of discipline structures too advanced for the mental structures of the students may lead to rote learning or to limited understanding. Topics of interest to middle-school students can be dealt with by employing as much flexibility as possible in regard to methods of study and range of outcomes. In this way, process is made at least as important as product or content; and "there is no reason to think that exposure to culturally valued content, mastery of basic communication skills, and the encouragement of intellectual curiosity, initiative, and higher-order thinking strategies are incompatible objectives" (Kuhn, 1979, p. 358).

(C) Perceived Role of the Middle School

The role of the middle school has often been perceived in two different ways. Some educators expect it to offer a unique program, of neither an elementary nor a high-school type, based on the particular needs of its early adolescent students. Others expect it to assist as a partner, complementing the goals of the high school by introducing and emphasizing academic subjects. These roles are not mutually exclusive, but are frequently in conflict. The former places heavier emphasis on the diverse characteristics, rates and levels of development, and interests of the early adolescent. The learner is perceived as an individual in the process "of becoming." The latter perception of the middle school is that it mirrors the high school to a large extent, with norm-measured achievement in graded, subject-matter competencies stressed "in preparation for" the next level of education. The influence which the high school may have on the middle school in this case is an example of what McMullen had in mind when he stated that "throughout most education, each stage is strongly and usually harmfully influenced by the one higher." (1978, p. 89) The goals and objectives congruent with a developmental orientation are promoted more effectively in the middle school when the philosophy, with its consequent program organization, curricular progression, teaching procedures, and learning environments, emanates from the special characteristics and needs of the early adolescent, rather than from an imposed academic structure.

While the variability of the middle-school learner is a given, the role of the middle school, the particular orientation to social studies, and the application of a particular learning theory ideally involve conscious decision-making. The most effective situation for students at this level would occur where each of these three factors is solidly based in a developmental orientation and all three are integrated. Although the classroom teacher's influence on some of these factors may be limited, it is necessary to include and extend developmental strategies as far as possible, so that this approach becomes a pervasive and effective force in the learning environment.

THE CONTEXT OF THE STRATEGIES

(A) Creating the Learning Environment

The preceding discussion provides a basic perspective and framework within which developmental strategies may be planned. The range of types of appropriate strategies can be brought into clearer focus by considering the roles of the learner and the teacher. The development of intellectual and affective capacities is best promoted when there is a high level of active involvement with the content and materials on the part of the learner. The teacher best facilitates development by creating a learning environment where inter-student interaction and student-content interaction are maximized within a suitable structure. Autonomy of thought and variability in learning outcomes are fundamental to developmental strategies. Even some of the following example strategies, which may seem "structured" (to match the structure of the mental operations of the learner), can be implemented in a flexible, open learning environment.

(B) Choosing a Topic of Study for Middle-School Learners

A topic such as "Canada: Our Northern Neighbor" could be used in constructing a unit at the middle-school level and will provide the content here for some examples of strategies. This topic was selected with previously outlined background concerns in mind. The focus of interests for early adolescents is decentering from self and social groups to the broader world. Burgeoning developing idealism contributes to adolescents' seeing themselves as social reformers. They are interested in problems and issues and are eager to express viewpoints for improving society. They are forming opinions, making judgments, and clarifying values about a wide range of social, political, and cultural concerns.

This topic lends itself to these factors, as well as to the use of concrete and abstract material from a broad range of integrated social science content. Considerable factual knowledge could be accumulated by students reading relevant passages, assimilating teacher-provided information, viewing and listening to media presentations, and conducting individual research. The level of true understanding which is achieved, however, will depend most upon the extent to which the learner interacts with the content according to his/her intellectual operations or capacities.

SOME EXAMPLES OF STRATEGIES

The following strategies will be considered from both the learner's and the teacher's perspectives. The suggested strategies frequently take the form of specific questions or general instructions or explanations of learning situations related to specific mental operations. Some involve thinking mainly at the concrete stage and some mainly at the formal stage. Many have the potential to elicit thinking at either level, which is particularly useful, since any one middle-school class is likely to include students at each level and in transition between the two.

I. The Concrete Operational Learner

The operations at both the concrete and formal stages have been described as "a means of getting data about the real world into the mind and there transforming them so that they can be organized and used selectively in the solution of problems." (Bruner, 1960, p. 35) This is possible at the concrete operational stage, when physical or social objects are concrete or real in nature and within the learner's own experiential framework.

(a) *The ability to understand hierarchy of classes of concepts.*
Students can make lists of examples of a concept which itself is included or encompassed in a larger or higher-order concept.

1. List all of the large political divisions (provinces and territories) which, when grouped together, constitute Canada. Are these political divisions themselves subdivided? What are these smaller divisions called? (counties) Name some which are located in the largest of the first-level divisions. Is this type of organization similar to that of the United States? If

so, illustrate the similarities with a chart. If not, explain graphically why not.

2. Canadians are of many cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and racial backgrounds. List as many different groups of Canadians as you can. Is "Québécois" on your list? If not, what is a Québécois? Is a Québécois a Canadian? Explain. What two simultaneous identities do you have?
   (Although these questions may seem elementary, Piaget and Weil [1951] found that many children did not truly understand the part-whole relationship of Geneva-Switzerland or being a Genevan and a Swiss simultaneously until they were 11 or 12 years old.)

(b) *The ability to order elements according to increasing or decreasing size. Students can be given or can search out data indicating the area, distance, volume, weight, or number relating to particular phenomena to be compared, and they can order the data according to criteria.*

1. List the Canadian provinces from the largest to the smallest. Organize the fifty United States into groups which correspond most closely to the area of each of the ten provinces.

2. With a partner, conduct research to determine the United States' ten largest (dollar value) imports from Canada and the ten largest exports to Canada. Prepare a chart to display your findings, arranging the imports and exports in order of value.

Such strategies not only require the learner to exercise his or her mental capacities and thereby construct useful knowledge, but the new knowledge itself may be the cause of, or motivation for, further mental activity. This may result when the activity creates an element of surprise or conflict, either intentionally, as planned by the teacher, or fortuitously, between the learner's previous conceptions and the new knowledge. This dissonance can be the dynamic factor for new development (Piaget, 1967), as it compels the learner to reject misconceptions and accommodate or compensate for the new knowledge.

(c) *The ability to understand complementarity of a group or class. Students can take any group of things or people and divide it into subgroups, but understand that the total always remains the same.*

1. List the teams in the National Hockey League. If the Canadian teams withdrew, how many would be left? (14) What percentage is this? (67%) Where would the remaining teams be located? (In various cities in the United States) If only the teams from the United States withdrew, what percentage would be left? (33%)
   Middle-school students at the concrete level would relate easily to these questions because of the concrete nature of the content and students' interest in sports. The fact that the operations are reversible is

elementary, but when the total group is reorganized several times, understanding is extended and new learning may result. For example:

2. If the Canadian players withdrew, what percentage of players would remain? (< 5%) How does this correspond with what you might expect from question #1?

3. How might Americans view this situation? Canadians?

4. If these questions were repeated, substituting major league baseball teams for hockey teams, the results would also be interesting.

(d) *The ability to understand reciprocal relationships.*

In dealing with social studies topics, students can search for instances in which they can logically perceive that different people or objects can have symmetrical relationships to the same situations, events, ideas, or to each other.

Students may readily effect the mental operation required in straightforward objective examples; e.g., if a person in Cincinnati considers Toronto to be 500 miles north-east, then a person in Toronto would consider Cincinnati 500 miles south-west. However, when the same operations are applied to problems involving more affectively dynamic or contextually complex situations, concrete operational thinkers often experience difficulty.

1. Since 1965, the United States and Canada have had a trade agreement for automobiles and parts which was to be of equal benefit to both countries. In 1979, the United States sent to Canada automobiles and parts worth three billion dollars more than it received from Canada. How might the United States view this difference? Canada?

2. Investigate to determine if other areas of reciprocal interchange exist between the two countries (e.g., trade in natural resources, manufactured goods, agricultural products, or social and cultural exchange). Discuss each situation from both points of view.

(e) *Ability to co-ordinate two different viewpoints simultaneously.*

When two individual or group viewpoints on an issue are perceived, students can be encouraged to co-ordinate mentally both viewpoints in order to make equitable assessments of them. This operation is employed in achieving various social studies goals, such as cooperative social relationships, cross-cultural understandings, and moral judgments.

Individuals at the concrete operational stage know that others have viewpoints which may differ from their own. The existence of two such viewpoints would be acknowledged in the reciprocal relationship strategies above. An extension of this development is the balanced coordination of the two

viewpoints—the process through which mutual respect and moral feelings and values are engendered. This requires both cognitive capability and affective will. White (1966) explains that this task is not easy, having "the disturbing effect of requiring us to 'see double'—to hold in suspension two interpretations of the same facts, the other fellow's interpretations and our own. Complexity and uncertainty are introduced. The human mind, seeking simplicity and certainty, rebels. And empathy is choked off."

In striving for cross-cultural or racial understanding, for example, strangeness or difference is often perceived negatively, or else ethnocentric attitudes promote stronger in-group feelings. The affective imbalance in these perspectives, usually in favor of one's own viewpoint, overwhelms the other; understanding is thwarted; and prejudices continue.

Strategies to promote development should involve ample opportunity for social exchange and interaction among peers with minimum constraint by the teacher. (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969) Active participation in panel or group discussions, debates, and role playing, using content in which various viewpoints and controversy or conflict are present, interests middle-school students. Both concrete and formal operational thinkers can benefit in this area of development by interacting with each other. Concern for individual personalities and sensitivities should be maintained.

1. In the auto trade example above, this co-ordination of viewpoints would be encouraged by examining—perhaps in debate format—questions such as: Does anything need to be done? If so, what? Why would this be the right thing to do? If not, why not?

2. In the hockey/baseball example above, discussion questions such as the following would encourage simultaneous co-ordination: Should anything be done about this situation? Why or why not?

   Short case studies such as the following, which focus on contemporary issues, can be introduced for role playing.

3. Ms. Blake of Sacramento, who drives a sub-compact, has been waiting for forty minutes in a line at her neighborhood gas station. The supply runs out while the vehicle immediately in front of her, an eight-cylinder van from Alberta, is being filled. More fuel will not be arriving until the beginning of the month—five days from now. Ms. Blake speaks to the young driver of the van.

4. The Schmidt family from Gary, Indiana, arrives at a remote northern Ontario lodge, where they have reservations for three weeks of fishing and relaxation. After three days without a catch, they find out that acid rain pollutants, blown by winds from industries presumed to be mainly in Illinois and Michigan, have rendered many lakes, including this one, sterile spawning grounds for fish. Role play a meeting between the Schmidt family and (a) the owner of the lodge who didn't inform them of the situation, and (b) the manager of one of the responsible industries.

Written work can also involve understanding different viewpoints.

5. Take the role of a Québécois in favor of making Québec independent from Canada. Write a letter to friends in the United States to help them understand why you want an independent country and what you think your new country's relationship with the United States and Canada would be.

All students in middle school should benefit from activities such as those above. The content learned should be worthwhile for students regardless of developmental stage. The intellectual operations required to act upon the content should, in most cases, strengthen and extend the capacities of those at the concrete stage. Formal operational students will construct formal-stage responses where the nature of the activity makes this possible, but they can be challenged even more by confronting situations requiring the most complex operations of which they are capable.

II. The Formal Operational Learner

The transition from concrete to formal operations, occurring primarily in the middle-school period, launches mental developments which free students to interact mentally with much greater flexibility toward an increasingly broadening and complex world. They are no longer tied to concrete reality but can now deal with higher level abstractions of it, including past and future forms which have increasing appeal. A major change is the "transformation of thought that permits the handling of hypotheses and reasoning with regard to propositions." (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969, p. 131) Through a greatly expanding capacity for reflective thought, much interest develops in the self, social relationships, and the well-being of society and humankind.

The strategies which follow establish and broaden some of these major developments which are closely related to the aims of social studies.

(f) *The ability to employ propositional and hypothetico-deductive thinking. Students can reflect on and mentally execute operations involving abstract hypothetical, rather than concrete, social studies data or objects in order to draw conclusions.*

While concrete operational students can mentally operate on objects before them to solve simple hypothetical problems, formal operational students can solve the same types of problems when presented, either verbally or in writing, with only abstract representations of concrete reality. For example, if concrete operational students, having the necessary relevant maps before them to observe, are given the following proposition to resolve, they are successful: "New Brunswick is larger than Vermont; New Brunswick is smaller than Colorado. Which is the largest?" However, if this proposition were presented in verbal form only, they would have much difficulty, whereas students at the formal operational stage would solve it quite readily.

Many abstract hypothetical situations or problems are possible centers for inquiry in the social studies. Beginning with concrete examples, teachers may

introduce increasing complexity and abstractness so long as the strategies elicit thinking appropriate to the stage of the learner's development. Hypotheses originating with the students are valuable, because not only are they usually intrinsically motivating, but they also represent the students' own mental constructions of testable knowledge. Regardless of their origin, these strategies may be stated in some variation of an "if-then" statement. Continuing the unit theme, the following would be suitable at this stage of development.

1. If the United States dollar rose in value to be worth five Canadian dollars (they are usually of about equal value), how would life (in both countries) be affected?

   Similarly, the reverse condition could be considered.

These examples could be implemented in various ways, including individual or small-group research followed by a comparison and discussion of findings.

2. If the United States or Canada were to deplete its supply of a necessary basic resource (e.g., crude oil or fresh water), should the other country be required to share with the one in need?

This could involve research followed by valuing strategies. Much valuable student interaction could result through activities such as debates, role playing, simulations, or the use of written statements in various forms (letters, advertisements).

(g) *The ability to co-ordinate multiple variables and viewpoints.*
When dealing with situations and problems in social studies where multiple variables or viewpoints exist, students can gradually be challenged to coordinate mentally a greater number.

It has been pointed out that concrete operational students can coordinate two variables or viewpoints dealing with concrete objects. Much flexibility is gained with the ability to operate on abstract groups or classes. It is now possible to establish any relations or classes by bringing together whatever elements or variables are desired.

1. Students can compare the percentage of Canadians who visit the United States in the winter (three variables: [i] Canadians, [ii] visit the United States, [iii] in winter) with the percentage of United States citizens who visit Canada during the summer.

The realization that hypothetical classes can be formulated enables students to practise formulating their own. The idea of, and the practicing of, possible combinations can help to develop further the logic of relations and classes.

Multivariate social studies problems dealing with real-life situations need to be extended gradually.

2. Where should one of the largest multinational automobile companies locate a new branch plant in Canada? Although this problem may seem relatively easy and could result in a superficially derived conclusion, it actually involves many variables; e.g., (i) plant location, (ii) availability and cost of raw materials, (iii) access to transportation, (iv) labor considerations, (v) marketing strategies, and (vi) tax incentives. A change in one variable could affect others. Students entering the formal operational stage should begin by dealing with real-life problems where the number of variables involved is very limited until they achieve appropriate success.

More than two individual or group viewpoints can be coordinated at this point.

3. Students can role-play a meeting between a United States government official, a Canadian government official, and a leader of a Native American tribe whose members do not consider the political boundary between the two countries as legal, since traditional tribal territory is crossed by the international boundary. The Native American maintains his rights while the officials have other viewpoints. An attempt to resolve the situation is made.

To coordinate three viewpoints simultaneously (United States official, Canadian official, Native American leader) requires a high level of abstraction. The ability to coordinate viewpoints seems to be necessary in the development of moral values. (Selman, 1971) Kohlberg states "that a certain level of cognitive maturity is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a given level of moral judgment." (1969, p. 45) Strategies requiring more complex abilities to take other perspectives and, if possible, involving moral issues develop desired skills and capabilities to form moral judgment.

(h) *The interest in and the ability to comprehend past and future time. Students can illustrate, through reflective thought about topics or issues in social studies, the beginnings of a true understanding of the past and the future.*

As individuals become free to think in abstract terms, there is a parallel decentering from restriction to the present and the concrete past (i.e., when a past event, place, or person studied is related to the present or to the concrete) to comprehension of increasingly greater periods of past and future time. The transition into formal operations is characterized in its early stages by egocentric thought centered on and impressed by the new power of reflection. These two developments can be capitalized upon and included in strategy construction.

1. Students can prepare family trees to determine their historical roots. Since, over the years, considerable migration between the United States and Canada has occurred, students can investigate to determine if they have any roots in Canada. This study could expand, following student interests. For example: Why did their ancestors originally choose to emigrate to the United States (or to Canada)? Students who recently emigrated could investigate their ethnic group's historical emigration patterns to the United States or Canada. Data could be prepared for class presentation in chart and pictorial form.

Many historical events involving conflict or cooperation can form the focus of learning.

2. Using the War of 1812–14 as content, students can:
   (i) write a short diary of the final days at Queenston Heights as they might have been perceived by either a British or a United States soldier,
   (ii) compare the feelings/actions of the United Empire Loyalists with those of any contemporary groups in Canada or the United States that have similar feelings.

Strategies to extend comprehension of the future are as important as those dealing with the past.

1. Students can draw personal time lines to the year 2060, indicating specific projected milestones such as graduation, marriage, children, jobs, holidays, retirement, etc.
2. Using past trends, students can make, support, and compare predictions about various elements of social studies and their effects as they apply to the United States and Canada. For example:
   (a) populations in the years 2000, 2100, 2500
   (b) national energy resource supplies and use
   (c) immigration rates and sources
   (d) use of leisure time

3. Students can write about, discuss, and debate any possible areas of conflict between the United States and Canada which they think may develop during the next one hundred years.

(i) *Interest in self and the ideal society.*
Students can reflect upon and construct their own emerging personal value system and that of the society in which they would like to live.

Development parallel to the new cognitive structures occurs in the affective domain. In the middle school, students usually begin to be highly conscious of, and to have strong feelings about, their own development and the state of society. Frequently, this egocentrism and the desire for social reform put adolescents in conflict with themselves or the adult world or both. Rather

than being asocial, as they seem, they are very much interested in society, having altruistic designs and projects in mind. By accepting this transitional period of disequilibrium as a valuable step en route to the attainment of higher level intellectual, emotional, and social capacities, and not just as a period "to get over," middle-school students will benefit. Strategies dealing with personal and societal concerns, which emphasize reflective thought, social interaction with much peer discussion, and social action, are effective for development in this area. Students could be involved in these strategies at some point in considering the following questions. An open and accepting social environment should be established.

1. What do you think are your best characteristics?
2. What would you like to accomplish in your lifetime that could be beneficial to you, to your country, or to all humankind?
3. What is an ideal citizen like? Do you know any? (If so,) would you care to give some examples?
4. Do you think any changes should be made in the manner in which your community is governed? your state or province? your country? Give examples and reasons why you think these changes should be made.
5. Conflicts often arise between countries, even though they are good neighbors. What conflicts do the United States and Canada have at the present time? To what extent are conflicts inevitable?
6. What would your ideal society be like?

A developmental perspective is important for designing teaching strategies at any level, but it is particularly important for the middle school. Although specific content was used in designing the examples of strategies suggested in this chapter, the process should take precedence over content in a developmental framework. The brief explanations or rationales provided should enable the reader to incorporate similar processes which encourage mental development into any particular unit. Only a brief introduction to the topic has been possible here. The best sources for further information about what students need and are capable of are, of course, the students themselves.

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4.
Building Community Consciousness in a Comprehensive Civic Education Project

THOMAS J. WYETH

COMMUNITY CONSCIOUSNESS is that special sense of belonging that derives from membership in a meaningful group. Meaningfulness in a group's life grows from the shared experiences and expectations of its members and from the respect and mutual caring present in that group. In schools where teachers and administrators value community consciousness, many activities, both planned and unplanned, can be used to build community. These community-building activities can provide students with opportunities to learn from and work with their peers and their teachers in settings both inside and outside of the classroom and, indeed, outside of the school itself. As they interact, students can observe each other's strengths and weaknesses and likes and dislikes, while they learn to support common goals and build respect for each other.

The discussion which follows describes the special components of community consciousness and some of the means by which it is developed in the Civic Education Project, a cooperative program originating in the mid-1970s between Carnegie-Mellon University and several Pittsburgh-area schools. This program is now being piloted in a number of additional schools in both this country and in Europe.

The Project rationale and activities derive from the research activities of Lawrence Kohlberg and his colleagues at Harvard University and the curriculum development work of Edwin Fenton and his associates at Carnegie-Mellon University. Funding support for the development, implementation, and dissemination of the Project curriculum and staff-development activities

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Kohlberg's research findings have far-reaching implications for civic education programs and practices. (Fenton, 1977) He claimed that cognitive conflict generated by classroom discussion of dilemmas in which value issues are presented at several contiguous stages can, over time, advance the quality of moral reasoning in students. (Kohlberg, 1969) This hypothesis has been tested in several school-intervention programs based on discussions of value issues such as life, law, authority, conscience, and contract. Kohlberg's own efforts and other studies have produced evidence of stage development in participating students. (Fenton, 1977)

Work at Carnegie-Mellon University under the direction of Edwin Fenton and his colleagues has expanded on Kohlberg's concept of the classroom dilemma discussion as the means for facilitating moral or civic growth. This work has proceeded on the assumption that student progress toward understanding the principles of the American Constitution and system of government, and that student preparation for active participation in political life—at both community and national levels—must be addressed systematically.

The Civic Education Project at Carnegie-Mellon thus proposed to address comprehensively the matter of educational change. This involved changing the content, structure, and sequence of a civics or citizenship curriculum, exercising control over the preparation of teachers planning to work in the pilot programs, and, finally, negotiating control, to a greater extent than customary, over the organization and administration of affairs involving students in the Project schools.

One of the essential objectives of this sort of curriculum development, teacher preparation, and implementation planning is the early presence of a special community consciousness in students. This is a consciousness which originates in their common participation in a program new to their schools and which is reinforced by their curriculum, the behavior of their teachers, their treatment in classes, and their treatment in the wider school in accordance with the special agreements made with school officials.

The early development of this community consciousness also enables students to achieve several of the goals of civic education. These goals include the development of important participatory skills, personal development, and the understanding of democratic values defined in terms of Kohlberg's conception of principles of justice.

To achieve these goals, the Project developed a comprehensive two-year high-school English and social studies curriculum with a community-building and participatory government component. Through their participation in this component, which focuses on a Community Activity Period, students have the opportunity to relate the substantive content from their English and social studies courses to their own needs and experiences as members of a Civic Education community. The Project goals link the three components of the Civic Education Project—the two courses and the Community Activity Period—and guide the staff and teachers in their efforts to build a set of congruent educational experiences which help to prepare students for active and responsible citizenship in a democratic society.

HOW THE PROJECT IS ORGANIZED

Typically, a Civic Education Unit consists of fifty to sixty high-school students enrolled in the English and social studies courses which meet five days a week. In addition, students enroll in the Community Activity Period for two or three additional periods a week. An English teacher and a social studies teacher, trained in Project staff development seminars, teach the content courses and act as advisors in the Community Period, often along with other teachers, counselors, or administrators. These three class periods—English, social studies, and the Community Activity Period—are usually scheduled in a consecutive time block. During the first two periods, half the students (Group A) meet for English while the other half (Group B) meet for social studies. Groups A and B then exchange classes, with Group A in social studies and B in English. All the students and staff members meet as a single large group for the Community Period two or three days of the week. The students take the remainder of their classes with the rest of the student body in the wider school.

Many activities which promote community consciousness are planned for the Community Period. These activities include community-building experiences, interpersonal skills exercises, and a participatory governing structure modeled after a New England town meeting. All the activities are planned in concert with the Project's view of the importance of the individual student and of the role of the individual in conducting the life of the community of which he or she is a part. The Community Period, therefore, represents a significant development in the Project, translating traditional classroom and curriculum expectations into practical reality for students.

The first-year academic curriculum reinforces the community-building experiences provided by the Community Activity Period. For example, in the social studies course, students study a variety of communities and the role of the individual in them. At the same time, in their English class they read literary works and do vocabulary or writing exercises which include ideas about the ideals of community structure, organization, and maintenance. With the curriculum planned this way, students begin to see many connections between their English and social studies classes and their activities in the Community Period.

The organization of the second-year curriculum parallels that of the first year. The course in American History emphasizes the search by individuals and organized groups for fairness and justice in the American past. Selections in the American Literature course stress the quest for justice as portrayed in many literary works. Community meetings and community-building activities also stress the search for fair solutions to problems that students encounter in their school life. In both the first and second year, the formal or manifest curriculum and the latent or hidden curriculum are congruent. That is, what is studied in the curriculum is practiced in the classroom and Community Activity Period. Instruction is carried out primarily by discussion, and decision-making on classroom and activity matters other than curriculum is by majority vote.

The three major components of the Civic Education Project have been planned to facilitate student progress toward the goals of the Project. Three of the goals are developmental. The first one stresses personal development, focusing on self-knowledge, self-esteem, and the development of personal identity. The second goal is to facilitate cognitive development, especially the development of formal operational thought. The third related developmental goal emphasizes cognitive moral development based on the research of Kohlberg and his colleagues. The remaining two Project goals are equally important—the acquisition of knowledge, and the growth of basic skills, particularly civic and academic competencies such as reading, writing, speaking, and listening.

HOW WE ACHIEVE COMMUNITY IN THE PROJECT CLASSROOMS

Achieving a sense of community consciousness within a group of young people who appear in a classroom together, often for the first time, is no easy task. First, teachers and administrators should be aware of the positive differences in student behavior and the interest which can result when students share a strong sense of belonging to a group. Second, they should be aware of the many ways available to develop and reinforce a strong sense of personal and group identity, to promote respect and responsibility, and to encourage democratic participation.

The Civic Education Project uses four basic vehicles for community-building: (1) a wide range of community-building exercises and activities specifically designed to foster group cohesiveness; (2) a set of interpersonal exercises to improve listening, speaking, and observing skills; (3) the formal Project curriculum to demonstrate historical and contemporary examples of community-building; and (4) the community governance structure to provide students with opportunities to practice all of the group and interpersonal development skills they have learned.

1. Community-building Exercises and Activities:

Several kinds of community-building exercises and activities help students to meet the Project goals. Some help students recognize the uniqueness and importance of individual group members. Others help to develop a group's identity and sense of ownership. A final type of activity provides opportunities and direction for students to render useful community service. The following list includes some suggestions in each of these categories:

Recognizing the uniqueness and importance of individuals.

- Most teachers know the importance of learning students' names early in a course. This activity can easily be expanded to help students and teachers be more personal in their relationships. For example, students can be asked to sit in a circle and then say their names, the names they prefer to be identified by, the names of the cities where they were born, and the identity of the one person no longer living whom they most admire and respect.

There are, of course, many variations of this practice which help students and teachers to remember each other's names quickly and to identify something unique and special about each person in the class.

- Students can be asked to construct mailboxes for their own use in the classroom. These boxes might be made of wood, of cardboard with dividers, or of quart or half-gallon plastic milk cartons attached together. The mailboxes can be used for the collection and return of student papers and for the exchange of personal notes and general announcements. They help to establish the notion that the individual is a member of a group, and that he or she has a place for correspondence within the group.

Building group identity and a sense of ownership.

- Having students decide on the way their classroom or meeting room should look and how it can be made comfortable for them helps them establish a group identity and a sense of ownership of the space they occupy for a time each school day. Fixing up a room together encourages students to think about it as their own. They can hang curtains or pictures, bring plants, and make bulletin or graffiti boards of their own. They can construct collages with themes from their activities or studies. All of these activities center on the group—its interests and needs—and work to build the group's identity and sense of common enterprise and space within a larger school unit.
- Group identity and cohesiveness can also be fostered by overnight or weekend retreats. Students can do much of their own planning, fund-raising, rule-making, and organizing for such activities. They can plan and manage the arrangements for their own entertainment, recreation, food service, and transportation. All of these activities teach them how to work together, to share responsibility, and to enjoy each other's company. In this way, they begin to develop common memories, a sense of their own past, and an image of, and reputation for, themselves.
- Some group identity can be demonstrated by the wearing of special clothing, such as a T-shirt with the group's logo on it. This says there is something special about the group and becomes an important part of its identity.
- Some Project schools encourage students to help with the recruiting of students for the next year's program. Here, students are given a role in the group's perpetuation, and this further promotes a sense of pride and ownership in the group.
- The preparation of a group newspaper or newsletter can often encourage students to take special interest in their own work for publication or to promote the welfare or purposes of their group among wider audiences.
- Having fun together in the classroom, the school, or outside the school plays an important part in establishing a group's identity. In-class birthday parties help to focus on the importance of individuals and provide an opportunity for the group to have some fun. Celebrating holidays by having students plan appropriate presentations or skits helps to illustrate the judg-

ments of other groups in the past regarding important persons, occasions, or events, and how they sought to preserve the memory for future generations.

Providing service to the wider community.

- There are many ways individuals in a group can provide service to the wider community. Working as volunteers in a hospital, nursing home, or local service agency is a common way in which students can represent their group to the community outside the school. This kind of activity also enables students to make observations about the way in which community organizations operate and to bring some useful questions or insights back to the school and classroom.
- There are also many ways in which the school group can work to improve life in the wider community outside the school. These include: helping poor families or elderly folk clean or repair a home or yard; visiting the elderly in their own homes or in special nursing homes; and making phone calls or assisting in a campaign for a public service or health agency. Here the group can assume a measure of collective responsibility for the welfare of others, learning that important needs exist beyond those of the group itself and that individuals and groups have responsibility for meeting those needs, too.

The Project has collected numerous additional examples of community-building activities in a kit for participating teachers. These examples have been drawn from a variety of sources and the experience of many sensitive educators. Teachers alert to the need for variety in this important developmental process are always on the lookout for new activities or variations that can add to their repertoire. There are obviously many more activities which can serve the community-building goals of a classroom teacher or building principal. The important point is to recognize the need for and value of these kinds of activities in the lives of young people who are seeking ways to be involved in meaningful activities in meaningful groups. Educators who include community-building activities along with academic work do much to add meaning to students' stay in their schools.

2. Interpersonal Skills:

In addition to these deliberate community-building activities, the Civic Education Project directs close attention to the development of students' interpersonal skills and personal growth as a part of building community consciousness. This effort includes basic participatory skills such as listening, speaking, observing, and giving feedback, with a focus on personal development areas such as increasing self-knowledge, self-esteem, and individual autonomy.

The Project staff, with the help of consultants and Project teachers, prepared an Interpersonal Skills Kit for use in its pilot classrooms. The activities and exercises in the kit have helped teachers promote three specific kinds of behavior in their students.

First, students have learned to identify and minimize the use of sets of

actions which damage or destroy the sense of belonging to a community. These include the use of so-called "killer statements" or gestures which put people down, such as "That's a stupid idea" or shaking one's head "No" to someone's idea. Teachers can draw on many common classroom examples of these behaviors to demonstrate their negative effects on discussion and community development. Students quickly catch on to their own use of such behaviors and find many opportunities to reduce their use in the community and elsewhere.

Second, students learn to listen carefully and to speak directly and clearly. These skills are needed for all sorts of group work and for successful participation in class discussions and in the community meetings. The activities and exercises in the kit help students to assess feelings and to use words which demonstrate respect, caring, and responsibility for the community's welfare.

A third kind of behavior encouraged by Project teachers is student use of observation instruments designed for or adapted to the Project's personal development and basic skills goals. These instruments help students to recognize, record, and evaluate behavior patterns and then to make individual or collective assessments which can lead to more productive community meetings or simply improved interpersonal communication.

Together, these interpersonal skills and an increase in personal awareness help students to develop community consciousness—the sense of belonging to a group and of working with other individuals who share a climate of trust and promote and reinforce the idea of the worth of one another.

3. The Formal Curriculum:

The formal curriculum of the Civic Education Project provides a third important way to develop community consciousness. Throughout the first-year social studies and English courses, students study about the needs of individuals, the roles of individuals as members of groups, and the relation of groups to the larger society. Students are made aware of the moral and ethical problems confronting various groups and individuals through the content readings in the social studies and literature materials. Many reading and writing activities provide opportunities which help students to reflect on their relationships with other individuals and with a variety of groups to which they belong or might belong. This first-year curriculum comprises two-thirds of the Project program. It is designed to increase students' awareness of the relationship between their English and social studies course content and the problems and benefits of being a member of a group in the third component of the Project, the community.

In the second year of the Project, both the American history and the American literature courses have a marked effect on the development of community consciousness. The history course, with its focus on the quest for justice in American society, helps students see important gains in the areas of equality and fairness as a result of long-term, dedicated efforts of individuals and groups in America.

The literature part of the second-year English curriculum has a similar focus. It traces the developing conceptions of justice in America through a

wide variety of literary works. The skills part of the English curriculum focuses on the refinement of important reading, writing, speaking, and listening skills. Frequent work in small groups provides students with the opportunity to practice these participatory skills. In combination, these two courses help to build a genuine pride in what it means now and has meant in the past to be an American. Together with the Community Activity Period, the second-year curriculum permits students to test their ideas about community and government in their own community effort at self-government.

Thus, over a two-year period, students will have formally studied and observed firsthand the variety of means by which individual and group needs are expressed and met or not met. They will have studied and observed patterns of leadership and power usage in the development of a variety of communities, including their own. They will have considerable understanding of how the needs and rules of groups are organized in communities and society. And they will have all of this in the context of their own growing sense of community, as more and more connections between the content of the formal curriculum and their own experience emerge. Hence, in addition to specific community-building activities and the development of important interpersonal skills, the Project's formal curriculum serves an important role in the continuous process of developing community consciousness in the classrooms of participating teachers.

These are teachers who, by virtue of their training or their own inclination, are aware that the development of individual self-esteem and group consciousness is derived as much from the way in which a course is taught as from the course content. They try to help students develop a sense of success and a feeling of confidence about their work by making challenging, but not overwhelming, assignments. They help students to know what and why they are learning, and they encourage them to reflect on what they are doing well and point to ways for improvement in problem areas.

Nearly all classroom instruction is conducted by discussion and through work in small groups. Instructional decisions further reflect the importance that the Project staff places on modeling desired behaviors, on demonstrating the generally more productive results of reasoned discussion and debate, and on close personal interaction in small groups where cooperation, patience, and the sense of common effort play important parts in promoting community consciousness. In these ways, students become more aware that learning is an important enterprise, and that both *what* and *how* one is taught matter in achieving the kinds of skill, knowledge, behavior, and value objectives that are set forth in their schools' formal curricula.

4. The Governance Structure:

The heart of a Civic Education Unit is its community meeting. The meeting offers both the situation and the place where students can try out the skills they learn in their English and social studies classes, where they can promote the community-building activities and practice the interpersonal skills which were introduced as in-class activities, and where they can test the knowledge that they have acquired about group life and group governance.

A Civic Education Project Unit typically holds a community meeting once a week. This community meeting is the major legislative body of a unit's governance structure. Often, before a formal meeting takes place, the community divides itself into advisory groups—groups of five to six students and one teacher, or other staff member, who volunteers to be a "friend of the community"—to make suggestions about rules, sanctions, activity planning, fund raising, or whatever agenda item appears. The community then meets at large and debates proposals before it adopts policy. In each community, each member—student and teacher alike—has one vote in the meetings.

Each Civic Education Unit has faced a number of issues which it has had to settle in order for community meetings to run smoothly and effectively. The Project staff responded to these recurrent problems by preparing a Community Meeting Kit focusing on these major issues and made suggestions for their resolution in keeping with the Project rationale.

The major concerns for most of the pilot units included:

- establishing adequate physical arrangements to facilitate communication among members
- developing standard rules of order and procedure
- convening and scheduling committee work
- providing for arbitration of appeals involving community actions
- writing effective agendas, keeping accurate records, and making good motions
- using effective problem-solving techniques
- maintaining a positive community atmosphere
- evaluating group-process skills and community meeting effectiveness
- encouraging and maintaining individual participation

More often than not, the community meetings are directed to real-life issues and lead to excited discussion and debate. For example: How should a student who cut class or was caught smoking in a restricted area be punished? In order to have the right to discuss and decide these kinds of issues (usually matters of administrative prerogative in most schools), the Project has entered into agreements with the Boards of Education of participating schools. These agreements set forth the conditions under which the Project can set up participatory governmental structures. Under the terms of the agreements, the Project staff agrees to abide by the laws of society and the regulations of the schools. But when a student breaks a school rule, the Civic Education Unit may act in a way quite different from what the rules of the wider school stipulate. The units in the Project can change the sanctions, but they cannot alter the basic laws or rules in areas where they already exist; and until a unit develops its own sanctions, those of the wider school apply. Because each group of students and staff has worked out the details of its own structure, the governance system varies slightly from one unit to the next.

The Community Meeting has been the most important structure in all of the Civic Education Project communities. It has contributed significantly to the building of community in most units and to the development of a meaningful group within what are often large, impersonal, and cold institutions.

When students identify with a school, many isolate a sub-group, such as a band, choral group, or club, as an object of their affection and loyalty. Bands, choruses, clubs, and athletic teams have much in common psychologically with Civic Education Units. They are relatively small compared to the size of the entire school, and they have a goal or a job to do which gives them a sense of purpose and meaning. Belonging to such groups helps give students an identity and fosters peer relationships within the group which help to sustain and support them.

Community Meetings also help to develop a "we" feeling which can contribute importantly to the development of Stage Three and Stage Four thought on Kohlberg's scale of cognitive moral development. For example, Stage Three and Stage Four thought can be facilitated by exposure to arguments which are concerned with the question of how a good member of the community should behave, or of how community actions may affect the wider school. In addition, when Project teachers raise higher-level questions which focus on concern for the rights and welfare of others, they also contribute to students' cognitive moral development. Eventually, it is anticipated that students will understand Stage Four and Stage Five thought patterns, on which full understanding of democratic government depends. It is with this developmental perspective in mind that much of the effort to promote community consciousness is undertaken in the Project.

Educators can utilize many of the community-building activities described above in their current classrooms. Personal introductions techniques, classroom word games, competitive classroom activities, interpersonal skills exercises, and individual and group behavior assessment instruments are all available in a variety of commercial forms or in the educational literature. Teachers and administrators need not make a full commitment to a specially structured project in order to establish a sense of community in their classrooms and schools. However, the creation of community consciousness—that cohesive and supportive classroom atmosphere which is one of the most important products of the Civic Education Project—offers a realistic, developmentally appropriate goal for social studies education that aims to prepare students to participate constructively as citizens in a democratic society.

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5.

Teaching and Learning History: Developmental Dimensions

CHRISTIAN LAVILLE AND LINDA W. ROSENZWEIG

FOR SOME time, educators have been troubled by a perceived decline in history teaching from its traditional position of prominence and strength in the secondary social studies curriculum. During the past decade, the status of history in high schools has been the focus of numerous studies and reports which have generally concluded that the discipline is in disarray at the pre-collegiate level.[1] (Kirkendall, 1975, 1976; Pulliam, 1972; Jarolimek, ed., 1977; Gross, 1977; Kownslar, 1976) Discussions of this crisis in history teaching have frequently cited changes in the high school curriculum—for example, the proliferation of social science-based courses such as sociology, psychology, economics, and political science; the proliferation of courses in special subjects such as career education, consumer education, ethnic studies, and women's studies; and the related elimination of certain required courses in history—to account for the problem.

It appears that at least part of this concern may be exaggerated in the context of current data on the present status of the social studies. The findings of a major study recently conducted by the Social Science Education Consortium, Project SPAN, suggest, in fact, that relatively few secondary schools have changed their social studies offerings fundamentally over the past twenty years. Indeed, compulsory history courses—particularly in United States history—continue to be an integral part of the curriculum. (Superka, et al. 1980)

However, beyond practical considerations such as the numbers of courses offered and the numbers of students enrolled in those courses, another and potentially more serious problem has emerged. Scholars who have applied developmental theory to the problems of teaching history have proposed the

[1] These concerns are not peculiar to American education. They have been voiced, for example, in France in *Le Monde de l'Education* (May, 1980), pp. 10-26; in Belgium in *Cahiers de Clio*, 59, 3[e]trim. (1979); and in Quebec in various issues of the *Bulletin of the SPHQ*.

possibility that basic incompatibilities exist between adolescent intellectual development and the nature of the discipline of history.[2] On the basis of their research, they have suggested that adolescents at the secondary-school level may lack a sufficient intellectual maturity to study history effectively. If this concern is justified, it raises fundamental questions about the teaching of history which merit the careful consideration of both theoreticians and practitioners of history education.

THE PROBLEM

The concern over whether or not adolescents can learn history originated with research, conducted principally in England, designed to apply Piaget's theories directly to the teaching of history.[1] As we have seen, Piaget maintains that intellectual development proceeds through a series of invariant stages. The principal stages of interest to educators include the stage of preoperational thought which ends around the age of 7 or 8; the concrete operational stage, from age 7 or 8 to age 11 or 12; and finally the stage of formal operational thought. (See Chapter 1.)

The mastery of formal thought appears to be necessary for the study of the discipline of history, which requires the manipulation of essentially abstract data. Formal thought permits individuals to grasp the complexities of the interactions between the components of events and their relationship to the whole situation and to explore the actions and motivations of human beings in time. Additionally, it enables them to formulate hypotheses, to choose the appropriate method of verification, to critique both the hypotheses and methods, and to establish the complex connections of cause-and-effect—in short, to perform the operations performed by historians.

While Piaget originally estimated the onset of formal thought at around the age of 11 or 12, several studies, particularly those of Roy N. Hallam (Hallam, 1979, 1975, 1974, 1972, 1966), indicate that British adolescents do not attain this stage in relation to history until about the age of 16. Hallam's research further suggests that, as far as history is concerned, the stage of concrete operations does not begin until age 12 and it lasts until age 16, despite Piaget's claim that concrete operational thought appears around age 7 or 8. Other studies—even more pessimistic, but based on the same sorts of experiments—have reached similar conclusions. For example, Stokes claims that formal thought in history does not appear until about age 18. (Stokes, 1970; Coltham, 1960; Wood, 1964) If British students can be considered representative, these findings suggest that young people cannot grasp history until well beyond the time when they usually encounter it in school, and perhaps never, if other more general studies of the development of formal thought are accurate—certainly a conclusion with far-reaching implications. (Kohlberg and Gilligan, 1971; Kuhn, 1979)

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[1]While this chapter specifically addresses only the relationship between cognitive development and history education, efforts to apply other aspects of developmental theory to the teaching of history should be noted, particularly those which have utilized Lawrence Kohlberg's research on the development of moral reasoning. See, for example, Ladenburg's discussion of curriculum construction and teaching strategies designed to facilitate cognitive moral development in the context of social studies education. (1977)

[2]The voluminous literature both by and about Piaget contains extensive discussions of the process of intellectual development. See, for example, Inhelder and Piaget (1958); Ginsburg and Oper (1969); and Flavell (1963).

Are we to conclude that it is virtually impossible to teach history before the age of 16–18, almost at the end of high school? This is, indeed, the way the developmental research on teaching history has most often been interpreted. For example, historian G.R. Elton has suggested that students ought to wait until they have reached the university level to study "real" history. (Elton, 1974) Other responses have included proposals to devote less time to history, to replace history with other types of education for less able students (often the socio-economically disadvantaged who need it most), or to substitute currently popular topics of dubious value in place of traditional, required history courses.[4]

A FALSE PROBLEM

Before one attempts to resolve the question of whether to teach history at the secondary level at all, or decides to teach a watered-down version, it is essential to consider the problem in depth, to examine its foundation and its implications. Such an examination suggests two basic questions: First, can we actually conclude that high-school students do not have access to formal thought? Second, can we be sure that they cannot study history without the ability to exercise formal operational thinking?

Hallam concluded that the students he observed had not mastered formal thought in history because they could not manipulate the abstractions and exercise the hypothetico-deductive reasoning that the discipline implies. However, his evidence does not seem to support these claims. Hallam's own particular conception of history governed the conduct of his research and guided the design of his experiments; but his perspective represents only one of a number of possible conceptions of the discipline, and its adequacy is at least debatable. It seems to be especially important to examine his assumptions closely and critically, since his research has served as the take-off point for current thinking about the intellectual prerequisites for learning history, and most scholars who treat the subject cite his conclusions.[5]

How did Hallam reach the conclusion that most students at the secondary level have not attained formal thought, that they remain at the concrete operational stage? He designed a series of texts, historical narratives modelled on those found in traditional textbooks, each accompanied by a dozen questions.[6] He then added data in order to make the materials more complex, because "a textbook does not necessarily provide within a fairly short passage the amount of information on which ten questions can be based." (1972, p. 338) The texts were complicated still further by his effort to ensure the possibility of the "widest range of answers" to the accompanying questions. (1972, p. 338)

Thus, Hallam used a very specific type of historical document to verify students' abilities to think in history: syntheses of interpretive information, presented in the much criticized form of the conventional textbook—hardly a

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[4]"Gimmick courses," as Peter N. Stearns has referred to them. (Stearns, 1977, pp. 10-11).

[5]This is easily verified by a survey of the literature on this question. See, for example, Thompson (1973, pp. 30-31); Poster (1973, p. 594); Zaccaria (1978, pp. 325-326); Peel (1967); Osborne (1977); and also the analogous work by Dickinson and Lee (1978).

[6]These texts appear in full in Hallam's theses (1966; 1975), and excerpts may be found in his articles about his research (1972, pp. 344-345; 1979, pp. 17-18).

definitive source of historical knowledge. And he even justified the validity of his experimental texts on the grounds they were reviewed "for historical accuracy" by a recognized university historian! (1972, p. 228)

In the course of his research, Hallam presented the texts to the students who were his subjects, asked them the prepared questions, and discovered that the materials were too abstract for the students—a discovery that probably would not surprise even an inexperienced teacher. From this, he concluded that the discipline of history is inherently too abstract for high-school students. While the abstract quality of the discipline is undeniable, this conclusion does not necessarily follow from Hallam's evidence. Instead, his technique seems to have illustrated the problems of comprehension that might be encountered by almost anyone presented with unfamiliar documents overloaded with excess artificial information.

Hallam also discovered that the students could not formulate valid hypotheses or exercise hypothetico-deductive reasoning in relation to the same texts and the same questions. However, this type of document is hardly likely to generate hypotheses spontaneously. Why would material of this sort stimulate a need for verification, examination, discussion, or an interest in investigation to establish its validity? Hallam's texts represent the conclusions, the closed generalizations that comprise the last step in the historian's process, rather than the point of departure for new hypotheses and follow-up research. Such generalizations, as Fenton and others have pointed out, "are inert. They become ends in themselves." (Fenton, 1971, p. 77)

In this context, it appears that although Hallam and other scholars have addressed themselves to the relationship between intellectual development and the study of history, their work also illustrates another problem of which history educators should be cognizant: the problem created by misconceptions of the nature of history and history teaching, which may be more destructive than the potential intellectual difficulties of students. This sort of misconception, shared by many people, involves a perception of history as a narrative consisting of a certain number of selected facts about the past which students need to learn. Such a view implies that learning history is primarily a matter of socialization, with the principal objective of acquainting students with the norms, attitudes, and values of their society and their place in that society. This is evidently Hallam's view and also the perspective of others who have done similar research.[7]

From a more appropriate and preferable perspective, history education has a more humane function: that of making human beings more independent, more free, more reflective, and more critical. For this purpose we need to teach students principally a method, a way of seeing—the method of the historian, the analyst of social phenomena—rather than a predetermined package of facts. Such a view does not exclude facts about the past or negate the possibility that certain realities may be more important than others (although the criteria for determining "importance" always remain debatable). It does, however, present the facts appropriately, as instruments and products of the method. It presents the discipline as an "open system," rather

[7]For example, A.B. Stokes used Hallam's documents and questions in his thesis (1970). See also the documents and questions prepared by Dickinson and Lee (1978). In their case, an experimental document of two printed pages is so complicated that the authors have added a glossary of twelve words, almost as long as the document itself.

than the closed, structured system represented by traditional history textbooks.

History teaching, from this perspective, does not consist of teaching a finished narrative and leaving the conclusions to the historians, as is implied by the structure of Hallam's research. Indeed, in a sense he seems to have focused on the wrong problem. He has not actually demonstrated students' inability to reach formal thought in the context of the discipline of history, but he has shown their inability to reach it in the context of a faulty conception of the discipline, with faulty history instruction. Furthermore, he himself actually acknowledges this fact when he writes: "the results of this research show the shortcomings and lack of full understanding that are likely to arise in traditional textbook history." (1972, p. 338) Yet, he does not propose any other type of history teaching!

SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEM

The solution to this problem requires the adoption of a different view of history and a different pedagogical approach. Specifically, educators must define history as contemporary historians define it and utilize instructional methods based on the procedures these historians use to create historical knowledge, rather than on methods which require students only to assimilate and not really to think, either abstractly or concretely.

Historians do not begin with the written recitation of their conclusions, as some traditional forms of history teaching imply and as Hallam suggests by the type of documents he has utilized in his research. Historians start with facts. The facts first suggest problems to them, then questions and hypotheses, then a method of verifying the hypotheses, and, finally, conclusions. This entire approach involves documents of a type different from those which Hallam's conception of the discipline has led him to use. He has drawn attention to this distinction himself with the statement that: "Other types of historical materials could have been used, such as photographs, maps, diagrams and original sources." (1972, p. 337)

If Hallam had been guided by a more accurate conception of the discipline as a method of interpretation, his research might have provided a useful learning experience for the students who participated in his experiments. If he had utilized the historian's approach to historical thinking, he would undoubtedly have selected different materials and designed the experiments differently. Thus, while the students would not necessarily have been able to demonstrate the ability to use formal thought under these conditions either, the application of concrete thought would have been a worthwhile exercise.

A Different Perspective

This suggests a very different perspective on the relationship between history and intellectual development—namely, the idea that teaching *history*, rather than the residue of historical knowledge which too often forms the content of traditional textbooks, might avoid—at least in part—some of the obstacles which Hallam stresses. Indeed, history taught correctly—i.e., in the same form that historical inquiry takes—may offer some solutions to the problems posed by students' concrete thought and limited hypothetico-deductive capacities.

Hallam maintains that history is a particularly abstract discipline, and he argues that this explains the inability of students to use formal thought in history before age 16 or later, but this is not really clear. Certainly, the historian's activity involves working with objects less concrete than the physical objects that the young subjects had to manipulate in Piaget's original experiments. But is the content of history, on an everyday level, essentially any more abstract than much of the content of science education? Are the social facts, with which students have countless experiences in their daily lives, really more abstract than the concepts of force and mass which are taught in physics?

Physics students learn that acceleration is a rate of variation of speed; speed is itself a rate of variation of distance; thus, acceleration is a rate of variation of a rate of variation. Is this so concrete? It remains to be seen whether in similar subjects formal thought actually appears four years before it appears in history, as Hallam and his interpreters claim.[4]

By virtue of its fundamental nature, history actually offers many possibilities to emphasize its concrete characteristics through a problem approach. Such an approach implies exploring, in class, historical problems rooted in the society in which the students live. Problems of this type are at least quasi-concrete for students, in that the students can recognize contemporary manifestations and sometimes they are already familiar with several examples. For instance, virtually every American history course devotes a considerable amount of time to the study of the United States Constitution. Most of the time, this instruction attempts to help students to understand the main articles and the fundamental principles underlying the document at a highly abstract level. As the majority of teachers would probably agree on the basis of their own experiences, many students do not succeed in learning and understanding the Constitution.

This is a topic where teachers can easily introduce familiar examples from contemporary society to make historical study more concrete. Students constantly encounter current illustrations of constitutional principles in the press, on television, and through other media: events such as the controversy concerning the desire of individual American athletes to participate in the Olympics despite the government's official boycott, the continuing debate over nuclear power (e.g., the discussions precipitated by the accident at Three Mile Island), school desegregation, etc. Events like these, which are at least partially concrete because of their real presence in students' lives, can be used to introduce and illustrate the abstract concepts contained in the Constitution and thus to facilitate students' understanding of the document.

Historians proceed in precisely this way: they start from where they are, so to speak. History teachers can adopt the same simple, logical process to counteract one of the major obstacles to students' understanding of the discipline: the fact that "action [is] far removed from the children's immediate world." (Hallam, 1974, p. 166; Zaccaria, 1978, p. 328) Thus, if students think primarily at the concrete operational level, they need to be exposed as often as possible to the concrete aspects of history. In other words, history

[4]See, for example, Zaccaria's discussion: ". . . Students, on the average, develop the ability to think at formal abstract levels with historical content up to four years later than they do with mathematical and scientific content." (1978, p. 326).

teachers can and should consciously attempt to ensure optimum match between students and subject matter, the sort of match that plays an important role in facilitating cognitive development, according to current developmental theory. (Turiel, 1973; Kohlberg, 1969)

Social History

The milieu of students suggests many other historical subjects which offer relatively concrete characteristics. The topics that historians generally refer to as social history—history of work and workers, history of leisure, history of the family, childhood, education, health and medicine, etc.*—focus on phenomena that are familiar to students, and with which they have direct personal experience. In other words, their own environment can serve as a source of concrete data to introduce these subjects.

This is not to suggest that social history is totally concrete while other types of history—political or economic, for example—are totally abstract. Indeed, the field encompasses the experiences of large segments of humanity, crosses national boundaries, and utilizes chronological periodization which differs significantly from the traditional linear chronology. Such scope and breadth require a relatively sophisticated level of generalization, and students will not automatically grasp high-level generalizations in social history any more than they do in any other type of history. However, because the data from which the generalizations are derived pertain to concrete, familiar phenomena, social history has the potential to stimulate the development of the ability to understand those generalizations—the development of formal operational thought. At the same time, this area of history also has the potential to be meaningful for concrete operational thinkers.

It seems reasonable to assume that formal thought and the ability to formulate and comprehend sophisticated historical generalizations may appear sooner in relation to familiar data than in relation to remote phenomena such as parliaments and protective tariffs. In other words, students have a better chance of really understanding generalizations if they can understand the building blocks on which they rest, just as Piaget's subjects were able to use formal thought in relation to concrete materials which they could see and manipulate. In sum, the subjects of social history would seem to offer important advantages from the point of view of a developmental perspective: namely, the opportunity for students to work with historical materials which match their cognitive capacities and hence the possibility for them to progress toward formal thinking in relation to the study of history.

If the goals of history teaching at the secondary level are to develop students' abilities to think, to develop their analytic and critical abilities, and to enable students to know and understand their society more fully, the rationale for teaching social history seems clear. Why not begin with subjects which are more real and more concrete than the topics of traditional political and military history, where each subject is "concerned with one strong character," (Hallam, 1972, p. 338) like those Hallam used in his experi-

*There is some indication that textbook authors and curriculum developers are becoming oriented to this type of history. For example, the Carnegie-Mellon Project on Social History is currently developing five curriculum units specifically designed to introduce high school students to major social history themes.

ments,[10] and reserve the study of less familiar subjects until students' skills are more fully developed?

Teaching Methods

Teaching methods, as well as the topics selected, can also help to make the content of history more concrete for high-school students. As previously noted, it seems unlikely that students would be able to perform high-level intellectual operations with traditional textbook narratives as a starting point. This is not necessarily the case with regard to history teaching which uses the narrative as the outcome, rather than the point of departure—where the students have to build the narrative progressively. With this type of teaching, it is possible to give students two or three documents which would suggest first a problem; then, with the addition of some other data, eventually lead to a hypothesis; and, finally, always with the addition of new data, students would move progressively toward establishing their own syntheses and conclusions.

Such an approach is not new—it involves essentially the same teaching methods proposed by the proponents of the "New Social Studies" more than a decade ago—but it is an approach that merits re-examination from a developmental perspective. First, this approach emphasizes the concrete character of the study of history by permitting students to progress in small steps using documents they actually have at hand. These documents may include photographs, maps, graphs, or facsimiles of primary sources—exactly the type of materials that Hallam decided not to use.

Second, such an approach is intrinsically interactive; it constantly involves students in manipulating data and provides the type of active experience cited by Piaget as a prerequisite for intellectual development. In addition, if it is true that students who have not mastered formal thought cannot manipulate more than a limited number of data simultaneously—Hallam speaks of four[11]—this type of teaching offers a third advantage as well. It fosters rigorous selectivity in the choice of data presented to students, since instruction proceeds in several successive steps and each step need involve only a small number of data. In other words, it lends itself easily to the provision of curricular materials which respond directly to students' developmental needs.

This approach to history education, sometimes characterized as discovery history, is concerned with facilitating the mastery of a method—an approach to learning and to developing intellectual skills—rather than with generating new historical knowledge. Insofar as the method entails integrating and synthesizing data in a step-by-step fashion, it may be described as intrinsically developmental in character. It is safe to assume that the syntheses produced by high-school students will not be those of Beard or Commager, nor will they be the equivalent of those of the traditional narrative textbook. But is this a serious defect, when it appears that students' cognitive capacities already restrict their access to these narratives? Do they really risk learning

[10] For example: "Mary Tudor," "The Norman Conquest of England," "The Civil War and Ireland," "Mary, Queen of Scots," "Thomas More and Henry VIII," etc.

[11] "Presumably, this would imply that no more than four variables of the same type should be used in any one topic." (Hallam, 1972, p. 343; also Thompson, 1973, p. 30).

less? And is it not plausible to examine and consider a method which has the potential to facilitate the achievement of developmental goals, even if this means that other, more traditional goals are de-emphasized?

Despite its advantages, this type of teaching does pose a problem with regard to formal thought. While it reproduces the historian's method in its simplest logical form, it preserves the principal steps of historical thought. The first step is basically, though not exclusively, inductive, from the data to the hypothesis; the second step is principally deductive, from the hypothesis to the conclusion. Hence, if students do not acquire formal thought until very late, and thus remain incapable of hypothetico-deductive reasoning, they will undoubtedly encounter difficulty with one aspect of this instructional method, the verification of the hypothesis.[12] This suggests that, particularly in the first years of high school, teachers should concentrate mainly on inductive teaching, rather than on teaching that assumes deductive skills on the part of students. Since the objective is not to produce "Little League" historians with this approach, but to improve students' thinking skills in relation to the daily activities of ordinary life, this is not a serious matter.

Furthermore, the inductive part of this approach, which is all too often neglected or totally excluded in traditional teaching, is irreplaceable as a means of developing independent and critical thinking. It enables an individual to recognize a problem, to organize and examine the facts, and to decide what is important to study and understand. The process of questioning teaches the individual to doubt established "truths," to re-examine acquired knowledge, and to question information. The ability to ask questions for oneself enhances an individual's status as a free human being. Unfortunately, traditional textbooks have accustomed students to be content with the questions asked by others. If history education were to achieve no more than the stimulation of students' questioning abilities, it would be accomplishing a great deal,[13] particularly in terms of developing independent thinking. This accomplishment does not require the mastery of formal thought.

Despite the benefits offered by the development of inductive thinking, the fact remains that answers must follow questions, and the ability to answer must follow the ability to question. In other words, the importance of the acquisition of hypothetico-deductive thought cannot be denied. For Piaget, this was a matter of maturation and of experience. It also involves appropriate stimulation to counteract the possibility of what Piaget described as a horizontal *décalage,* a situation in which an individual may be on the verge of formal thought, but has no occasion to use it.

Thus, history teachers have a fundamental responsibility to facilitate students' progress from concrete operations to formal operations. By using the tools of concrete topics and data, and inductive teaching techniques—especially in the early years of secondary school—they can structure instruction to meet the cognitive developmental needs and characteristics of their students. They can work gradually toward the ultimate goal of student mas-

[12]Among other things, the failure of the New Social Studies, with its insistence on inquiry, to pay enough attention to this problem probably accounts in part for the fact that the movement encountered so many difficulties and did not produce the anticipated results.

[13]Furthermore, this can be accomplished within the parameters of the nature of the discipline, if we concur with the notion that "history is much more concerned with problem-raising than problem-solving." (Watts, 1972, p. 33).

tery of the abstract and the deductive by adding abstract data, using purely verbal illustrations in conjunction with concrete data; guiding students toward easily verifiable hypotheses; and reusing in different situations the concepts students have previously constructed. At the same time, they need to exercise prudence with regard to the appropriate emphasis on this effort, remaining cognizant of the fact that surplus vitamins are not used, but rather are discarded by the organism.

CONCLUSION

Ultimately the findings of cognitive developmental psychology need not concern high-school history educators inordinately for at least three reasons. First, the data from Hallam's research and other similar studies have not demonstrated satisfactorily that secondary-school students cannot learn history, but only that they do not really learn "history" when they are presented with traditional history texts, which in a sense represent a sort of *fait accompli*. Second, the research has not established any real relationship between the presence or absence of formal thought and the performance of the students who participated in the experiments. Third, the studies have not shown that the fundamental nature of the discipline of history is inherently too abstract for high-school students to grasp.

Nevertheless, if we regard the questions and concerns raised by the developmentalists as indicative of a possible source of problems and, thus, worthy of serious consideration, it appears that history itself incorporates enough elements to counteract the suggested difficulties. In the final analysis, the resolution depends on the conceptions of history, history teaching, and the objectives of history teaching that we adopt. We can postulate a narrative history based upon "what it is necessary to know." However, such a conception offers little in the way of opportunities for developmental progress or intellectual liberation—and it raises another problematic issue: Who is to decide "what it is necessary to know"? Or we can choose—indeed, we should prefer—a history which represents an approach to knowledge and a method by which to question, to interpret, and to know the social facts of the past and present. This is an active history, a type of history which students can practice personally for the purpose of developing intellectual autonomy.

For this second purpose, history offers subjects, data, and an approach which can be functional and successful, whether or not students have achieved formal thought. For example, teachers can choose to incorporate into their courses a problem-history based on real problems for which students have contemporary, concrete referents in their own environments. These sorts of problems form the subject matter of social history; and, because of their concrete quality, they have the potential to stimulate students' capacities to move toward abstract thought.

In addition, teachers can adopt a concrete, active pedagogical approach which requires students to ask questions and to interact with the documents wherever possible, rather than to receive and accept the conclusions of others, and which emphasizes the inductive aspect of historical study. Such an approach permits students to be led progressively from the concrete to the more abstract within the framework of the hypothetico-deductive process,

which leads naturally from concrete operational to formal operational thought.

Though facilitating formal thought may remain a primary objective of history education—as the stimulation of cognitive development remains, in a sense, the ultimate objective of most teaching—it is important for educators to avoid any tendency to "sanctify" this form of thought in the context of a developmental perspective. Other valuable forms of thought exist as well. For example, while associative thought and the whole group of approaches usually designated as "creative" or "intuitive" escape ordinary logic, they nevertheless remain irreplaceable sources of knowledge. Certainly, historians are not immune to the impact of intuitive insights.

Likewise, it is necessary to take into account the existence of other forms of logic—for example, dialectic logic—in addition to that which underlies Piaget's description of formal thought.[14] In the same vein, educators must avoid concentrating so much on the development of formal thought, which defines a problem in the cognitive domain, that they neglect other dimensions of human development; for example, development in the affective domain. In addition to its importance as a separate aspect of human growth, affective development influences an individual's reasoning and generates many of the attitudes and values which determine behavior.

Finally, in the context of a concerted effort to determine whether, and by what means, history can be taught effectively at the secondary level, it is essential also to examine those types of experience which appear to have little or no capacity to stimulate intellectual development, as well as those which seem most likely to stimulate formal thought. For example, many contemporary educators denigrate the experience of simple memorization, especially in history. Teachers reject, with good reason, the notion of instruction that produces a "1066 and all that" conception of historical chronology. Yet, human experience includes countless instances in which seemingly meaningless facts, acquired in precisely this fashion, have been recalled much later with accuracy and comprehension. In what circumstances, and according to what procedures, do these experiences of simple memory lead to this sort of rediscovery of meaning? Questions like these involve the psychology of memory, an intriguing area of investigation in its own right. Since we really do not know the answers yet, is it wise or appropriate to exclude the role of memory so radically from historical study?

Developmental psychology has taught us a great deal about the intellectual development of students and has raised vital questions for educators to consider, but much remains to be learned. Cognitive developmental theory remains essentially a theory, rather than established scientific knowledge. Hence, until the conclusions of the developmentalists have been better established, and the implications of those conclusions have been clarified, we should most certainly continue to teach history to high-school students. The challenge must be to teach a history that is well conceived and for purposes that are fully understood.

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[14]On this subject, see the warning against the exclusivity of formal operational thinking by John Broughton (1977). While it is not thoroughly convincing, the defense of intuitive and creative thinking by D.G. Watts is also pertinent. (1972, Chapter 2). On dialectic operations, see K. Riegel (1973).

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6.
Developmental Prerequisites for Multicultural Education in the Social Studies

GENEVA GAY

"START WITH where the child is." "Instructional content, materials, and experiences must be compatible with the maturational levels of the students." "To achieve maximal results, learning activities should build upon the attitudes, values, and skills that each individual brings to the classroom." These are some of the notions about teaching and learning most frequently voiced among educators. They underpin the basic principles of developmental perspectives of both social studies and multicultural instructional programs.

Since social studies educators are accustomed to using developmental perspectives to design and implement instructional programs, it seems both natural and logical to employ these established frames of reference as points of departure to examine how multicultural education can be better integrated into social studies programs. In establishing some developmental prerequisites for teaching multicultural education, this chapter will examine two areas: (1) some principles deriving from social science research on racial attitudes and intergroup relations pertinent to the formulation of developmental perspectives on multicultural education, and (2) some implications of developmental perspectives for implementing multicultural education in the social studies.

DEVELOPMENTAL PRINCIPLES IMPLIED IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

Social science research on racial biases and ethnic group associational preferences suggests two major principles critical to the formulation of developmental perspectives for teaching multicultural education. First, studies on

the racial attitudes and preferences of young children[1] suggest (a) that racial awareness of self and others and the development of ethnic identity begin early in life, and they are well established by the time a child enters school; (b) that much of the early ethnic and racial socialization that a child receives is informal, unstructured, subliminal, and derived from the "encounters of daily living"; and (c) that, most frequently, the child's ethnic preferences and associated values tend to parallel those which predominate in society at large—that is, Anglo Americans are perceived to be superior to minorities. Therefore, it is more desirable to be White than Black, Native American, Hispanic, or Asian American.

Second, research suggests that racial biases and ethnic prejudices are inversely correlated with cognitive sophistication, moral development, social perspective-taking, and receptivity toward ethnic and cultural pluralism. That is, the higher the stages of cognitive and moral development, the greater is the capability and inclination of one to engage effectively in social perspective-taking and to express positive attitudes toward ethnic and racial groups. Conversely, individuals in lower stages of both cognitive and moral development tend to be highly egocentric, arbitrary in their belief systems, and exhibit higher levels of ethnocentricism and racial prejudices. (Tumin & Plotch, 1977; Glock et al., 1975; Gajfel, 1975) However, these are not perfect correlations, because of the influence of still another aspect of human growth—the self-ethnic identity development process. The direction of its development may not necessarily be consistent with cognitive or moral patterns of development.

In examining the relation between moral development and ethnic prejudices, Florence Davidson found the two to be highly correlated. (1977) Individuals who are at Stage 1 with regard to moral development tend to explain ethnic disrespect and racial prejudices on the basis of stereotypes accepted from quasi-authorities, such as parents, movies, and television. Prejudices which manifest themselves in anger and/or indifference, and freedom from interference with/from others are paramount in the reasoning of individuals who think at Stage 2. Youths at Stage 3 begin to exhibit some preliminary signs of sociocentricism. They try to understand the motives behind behavior, and they express some sympathetic concerns for the plight of others outside their own group. However, ethnic stereotypes receive credibility from being majority views; rationalizations are used to resolve conflicts in ethnic attitudes and values; and concern for others tends to be still quite patronizing and chauvinistic. Stage 4 individuals tend to search for explanations and rules to tie disparate social elements together to interpret human behavior; but at Stage 4, categorical definitions of people and behaviors are used freely, and they may lead to stereotyping, nationally-bound concerns only, unquestioning patriotism, and expressions of cultural chauvinism. Davidson does not discuss the relations between Stages 5 and 6 and ethnic and racial attitudes. Presumably, individuals at these levels of moral development operate on principled convictions and would deal with ethnic and culturally different

[1]Summaries of the formation of social attitudes in young children are presented by Puskin and Venass (1975); Goodman (1964); Beuf (1977); Brown (1972); and Williams and Morland (1976).

individuals, groups, and experiences in nonjudgmental, humane, just, sensitive, and open ways. In such ways, their own and others' individuality, humanity, and dignity would be recognized and accorded due respect.

Glock and associates' studies of adolescents' anti-Semitic and racial biases toward Blacks reveal that cognitive sophistication is a critical factor in reducing prejudices. They contend that "it is not necessarily the *perception* of racial or ethnic differences which constitutes prejudice, but how these differences are explained." (1975, p. 163) "Cognitive sophistication," as used by Glock and associates, is equated with the formal operational stage of cognitive development. For individuals at this level of mental development, concepts become increasingly more relational than absolute; the ability to hypothesize, philosophize, and conjecture increases; and thought becomes more propositional, inferential, other-directed, and comprehensive. Such persons are capable of seeking reasons for individual and group behaviors, recognizing individual variations within group patterns, and understanding how group differences come about. These perceptions allow the individual to deal with various ethnic and cultural groups and individuals on their own terms. In other words, students using formal operational thought are both more introspective and externally sensitive, more analytical and comprehensive in examining issues and events, and more empathetic; and they are capable of assuming viewpoints other than their own. They have the mental, moral, and social capabilities to engage in perspective role-taking.

While applauding the potential of cognitive maturity for reducing racial and ethnic prejudices by creating better understanding of why differences exist, Glock and associates hasten to add:

> Cognitive sophistication, however, can be a two-edged sword. When group differences are real, it is the cognitively sophisticated youngster once again who is more likely to know that they are. Thus, while we can assume that cognitive sophistication will arm youngsters against over-generalization about group differences and enable them to be more discriminating in judging the accuracy of alleged relative differences, it does not necessarily follow that these teenagers will be led thereby to be more tolerant and unprejudiced. On the contrary, if group differences are real, which . . . they sometimes are, the cognitively sophisticated may be more prone to a hostile response because the reality of the differences will be more visible to them.
>
> That it doesn't happen this way is because cognitive sophistication makes possible not only more accurate perceptions of group differences but also more sensitive understanding of how existing group differences have come about. (1975, p. 166)

STAGES OF SELF-ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

In addition to the interactive development of cognitive, moral, and perspective-taking abilities, individuals also experience stages of ethnic identity development. Little literature and even less empirical research currently exist to document this premise. However, from what does exist (which is mostly autobiographical accounts of coming to terms with one's ethnicity), some speculative explorations of patterns of ethnic identity development, and their implications for teaching, are possible.

We start with the hypothesis that—like cognitive, moral, and social development—the formation of ethnic identity begins early in a person's life,

continues over time, and occurs in some systematic ways. Members of ethnic groups in the United States, especially those racial minorities that have been victimized, oppressed, stigmatized, and culturally assaulted, do not automatically acquire positive self-ethnic identities. Rather, this achievement results, if at all, from a gradual developmental process. Stages of ethnic identification are discernible, and descriptive characteristics can be attributed to each one. These growth patterns are instructive for education in general, and for social studies and multicultural education in particular.

William Cross offers a useful conceptual schema for consideration of the process of positive self-ethnic identity development. (1971) Although the particular descriptors of his schema are limited to Black Americans, we believe that the general principles and parameters of ethnic identity development which he offers are applicable to other ethnics as well, especially to American minorities. Inferring from Cross' analysis of the "Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience," which he contends Black Americans *en masse* experienced in the 1960s, three stages of ethnic identity development can be identified and characterized. These are the *pre-encounter*, the *encounter*, and the *post-encounter* stages. Unlike the stages of mental and moral development, which are thought to be invariant and through which most "normal" individuals pass in a sequential progression, the stages of ethnic identity development are not strictly sequential and unilinear. Some individuals may never experience a particular stage, and the stages may be experienced in an upward, downward, or zigzag fashion. (Banks, 1977)

The Pre-Encounter Stage

Although pre-encounter stage behavior, like that of the other two stages, shows no consistent age trends, it seems to be especially prevalent among primary-school-age students. These formative years, between the ages of three and seven, constitute a "critical period in the growth of the child's feelings about himself and his feelings toward others who are ethnically different . . . the child becomes increasingly aware of racial differences and learns labels and emotional responses associated with various ethnic groups, including his own." (Proshansky and Newton, 1975, p. 180) The individual is socialized to view the world as being pro-white and anti-minority. Normative world-views, values, and behaviors are determined by Euro-American-centric or Anglo-Saxon-centric expectations. The pre-encounter stage of ethnic identity is also characterized by strong feelings of assimilation and self-denigration, and frequently shame for one's own ethnic group. According to James Banks, individuals who exhibit these attitudes and behaviors are in "psychological captivity." (1977)

The fact that pre-encounter stage, ethnically different young children play together with relatively few racial incidents does not mean that they are unattuned to race and ethnicity or that they are not internalizing societal valuations of different ethnic individuals and groups. They develop "awareness and feelings far in excess of their habits of expressing them in behavior." (Goodman, 1964) These children are first likely to become conscious of and

responsive to the most conspicious differences among ethnic and racial groups, such as skin color, eye color, hair texture, and language behaviors. They begin to categorize groups according to generalized ethnic labels, but inconsistencies are often evident in these categorizations. For example, Mary Goodman found four-year-olds to be aware of physical racial attributes—even though these traits were not always accurately perceived—to use racial terms rather accurately but not consistently, to use racially-associated words (e.g., black, dirty, white, clean, dark, etc.) quite frequently, and to be favorably oriented toward "whiteness." (1964)

Pre-encounter stage children acquire both knowledge and valuative assessments about the ethnicity of themselves and others. Much of this attitude formation occurs subconsciously and indirectly. Cultural symbols and institutions (such as race-associated words in the English language; portrayals of ethnics in magazines, books, newspapers, movies, and television programs; ethnic representations—or the lack thereof—in various occupations and decision-making positions; etc.) are major determinants of what people think about themselves and ethnic others. By the time children enter kindergarten, they already have strongly entrenched systems of race- and ethnic-related values, as is evident by the expressed racial preferences of four-year-olds in Goodman's study:

> So Joan M (N*) is not expressing a purely original point of view, based on the cold hard facts of her experience, when she says, "black people—I hate 'em." Nor has Stefan (w) been uninfluenced by culturally patterned points of view. He says he'd rather play with the white than with the brown boy . . . "*because* he's white." . . . Norman says of a pictured Negro boy: "He's a freshie! Look at his face—I don't like that kind of face." . . . Billy (w) is not neutral either when he looks at two pictured men, both ordinary and unremarkable, and says: "*A good man—and a black one.*"
>
> [These opinions are] expressions of positive and negative *valuing*, and in no uncertain terms. To "hate black people," and to not like the "kind" of face a brown boy is assumed to have; to choose the white over the brown boy to play with "because" he is white; . . . to set "black" against "good"—these are expressions of strong feelings.[2] (1964, pp. 46-47)

Obviously, from these statements and other descriptive evidence, individuals in the pre-encounter stage of ethnic identity are employing both cognitive and moral or valuative input to determine the merits of their own and others' ethnicity. The implications for developmental prerequisites for multicultural education are unmistakably clear. Both knowledge acquisition and values clarification about ethnic and cultural pluralism are appropriate components of multicultural education at all grade levels, even preschool and kindergarten!

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*The letters in parentheses represent the racial identity of the referent: Black (N) and Anglo (w), respectively.

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The Encounter Stage

Stage 2 of ethnic identity development, or encounter, is a conscious confrontation with one's ethnicity. Some situation or event—which may be verbal or visual, real or symbolic, a personal insult or group assault—occurs which destroys the person's current feelings and beliefs, his or her sense of reality about the conditions and circumstances of his or her ethnic identity and about the ethnic group's role or status in American society and the world. The "encounter" throws the person's "world" into a tailspin. It is a very volatile stage of ethnic identity development, characterized by anger, pain, shame, doubt, insecurity, hostility, self-love, pride, ambivalence, and internal emotional turmoil. A classic example of "an encounter" for Black Americans is offered by Countee Cullen in his poem "Incident" (1970):

> Once riding in old Baltimore
> Heart-filled, head-filled with glee
> I saw a Baltimorean
> Keep looking straight at me
>
> Now I was eight and very small
> And he was no whit bigger
> And so I smiled, but he poked out
> His tongue, and called me, "nigger."
>
> I saw the whole of Baltimore
> From May until December
> Of all the things that happened there
> That's all that I remember.[1]

Whereas during the pre-encounter stage, individuals believe in and accept, without question, the roles and identities assigned them by mainstream society, during the encounter stage they experience intrapsychic traumas; and they begin to question the validity of society's promises and expectations. They search for a new sense of identity, a new set of ethnic perceptions, a new view of reality. The encounter stage may occur at any time in a person's life, and it is likely to be most dramatic for members of ethnic minorities. For some, it never happens at all. However, among school-age youth, it happens most frequently during early adolescence, or between the ages of ten and fourteen.

The attitudinal and behavioral indicators of the encounter stage are numerous and varied. The individual may become very pensive, introspective, and reflective; he or she may vacillate between pride and shame, guilt and anger, exclusive association and total isolation from others within one's own ethnic group. The person may become very hostile, angry, and bitter toward all out-groups, especially those perceived to be the exploiters and oppressors (in most instances, these attributes, and the resulting hostility, are directed toward middle-class, mainstream Euro-Americans). He or she may also take rather extreme measures to dissociate himself or herself from all things "white," while simultaneously becoming immersed in all things ethnic. This

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immersion into self-ethnicity takes the form of listening only to ethnic music, reading only ethnic literature, socializing only with members of one's own ethnic group who are at similar stages of development, wearing traditional ethnic fashions, and, in some instances, relearning the original language of the ethnic group. Thus, Navajos going through the encounter stage would be likely to revivify tribal customs, religion, and language, wear traditional Navajo dress, translate their Anglo-Saxonized names into Navajo, and return to eating traditional foods. Similarly, Blacks in the encounter stage might adopt a "hate whitey" stance, engage in Black Power rhetoric, assume African names, learn Swahili, wear Afro or natural hairdos, dress in traditional African fashions, and immerse themselves in those Black expressive art forms (e.g., music, drama, poetry, prose, dance, etc.) which emphasize cultural consciousness and the idea that "Black is beautiful."

The encounter stage of ethnic identity formation is strongly egocentric, ethnocentric, and emotive, with exaggerated senses of ethnic camaraderie, ethnic pride, and ethnic exclusiveness. For these reasons, Banks refers to it as "ethnic encapsulation." (1977) Speaking specifically about the encounter stage for Blacks in its extreme form, Cross offers this description:

> Confrontation, bluntness, directness, and an either/or mentality are the primary if not the only basis for communication with other people, Black or white. The much discussed "Blacker than thou" syndrome intoxicates the minds of many people at this juncture. Black people are classified into such neat groups or categories as "Uncle Tom," "militant," "together," "soulful," "middle-class," "intellectual snob," etc. Labeling others helps the person clarify his own identity, but this name-calling phase can produce disastrous results . . . Not only does this person stereotype people, but his view of cosmology is greatly simplified and tends to be racist. To repeat, the person is concerned that his Blackness be pure or acceptable, and the purification rites are energized by a mixture of guilt, rage and growing sense of pride.[4] (1971, p. 20)

During the encounter stage, affective issues, value conflicts, moral dilemmas, and identity crises at the emotive level predominate over cognition, objectivity, and rationality in demanding individuals' attention and determining behavioral patterns. Multicultural education programs that are developmental in nature must be similarily focused to maximize their potential for effectiveness.

The Post-Encounter Stage

The third stage of the ethnic identity development process, referred to here as *post-encounter*, is the completion of a transformation or metamorphosis of identity. The intrapsychic turmoils and crises of identity which occur during the encounter stage are now resolved, and the person constructs a reformed sense of selfhood. The extreme immersion into one's own ethnic group experiences and intolerance for ethnic others begin to taper off, and a new sense of personal equilibrium is established. Individuals achieve a feeling of inner security in their new-found ethnic identity, a more positive self-concept, and a more realistic assessment of their ethnic groups' heritages, attributes, experiences, and contributions. The arbitrary and absolutist ego-

[4]Reprinted by permission of the author and the publisher, *Black World* Magazine, copyright, 1971 by Johnson Publishing Company, Inc.

centrism and ethnocentricism of the encounter stage, which tend to foster a blind romanticism and deification of all things associated with one's own ethnic group, are gradually replaced with more rational, more objective, and more balanced analyses of the group's strengths and weaknesses.

There is no longer a pressing need to demonstrate the depth of one's ethnic affiliation by "propagandizing, inflammatory, and ethnocentric oratory." That is, the person no longer feels a need to exorcise himself or herself publicly from psychological captivity and ethnic denigration, or to prove the authenticity of his or her ethnicity. Rather, new-found senses of ethnic knowledge and understanding are internalized into the behavioral constructs of the individual, so that this transformed identity pervades all things one says, does, and believes. Ethnic identity is, therefore, more genuine than contrived. The person also becomes open, receptive, and compassionate toward others just beginning their developmental processes, as well as toward the right of other ethnics to be ethnic according to their own terms. The post-encounter individual is willing, too, to learn about the cultures, experiences, and life styles of ethnic groups other than his or her own. This is why Banks calls this developmental stage "ethnic identity clarification," and suggests that once it is achieved the individual is ready to develop biethnic skills (e.g., the ability to function in one's own and at least one other ethnic culture) and, ultimately, to move toward achieving multiethnicity, or pan-humanism. (1977)

William Cross's summary of the conversion from "Negro to Black" is a fitting description of the transformation in ethnic identity as one progresses from the pre-encounter to the post-encounter stage. As the person

> begins to "live" in accordance with a new self-image, he or she will eventually *become* the new identity. The shift is from concern about how your friends see you . . . to confidence in one's personal standards of Blackness; from uncontrolled rage toward white people to controlled, felt and conscious anger toward oppressive and racist institutions; from symbolic rhetoric to quiet, dedicated long-term commitment; from unrealistic urgency to a sense of destiny; from anxious, insecure, rigid inferiority feelings to Black pride, self-love, and a deep sense of Black communalism. As internalization and incorporation increase, attitudes toward white people become less hostile, or at least realistically contained, Weusi [a Swahili word for Black] Anxiety diminishes, and pro-Black attitudes become more expansive, open and less defensive.[1] (1971, p. 22)

Whereas the overriding human behaviors of the pre-encounter stage are characterized by *non-questioning conformity* to externally determined roles and identities, and those of the encounter stage are characterized by *feelings* of emotional turmoil and psychological traumas, the predominant behavioral motivations of the post-encounter stage are self-determined ethnic identities, ethnic objectivity and rationality, and a genuine acceptance of the right to be ethnically different. Cognitively and psychologically, individuals are now predisposed to combat oppressive and exploitative practices in society, to fully appreciate alternative cultures and life styles, and to promote actively the principles of ethnic and cultural pluralism.

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Virtually no literature exists on the developmental characteristics of other phenomena which are sometimes included in broad conceptions of multicultural education, such as classism, ageism, and globalism. However, we speculate that pre-encounter, encounter, and post-encounter developmental stages can be applied to aspects of human liberation other than ethnic diversity, such as liberation from traditional sex-role definitions. We urge designers of multicultural education and social studies curricula to begin exploring their possible utilization in other areas of human growth.

From these descriptions of the stages of the formation of racial awareness, cultural consciousness, and self-ethnic identity there emerges another developmental prerequisite for the effective implementation of multicultural education in the social studies. Curriculum designers and classroom teachers must be aware of where students are with respect to knowledge of, attitudes toward, and identification with their own group as well as other ethnic groups. These insights should be used to guide the selection of ethnic content and learning activities, and to determine the most expeditious scope and sequence for students at different stages of ethnic awareness/identification. Of course, the selected scope and sequence of ethnic content and activities must be compatible with social studies goals and objectives, and with the different levels of students' mental and moral development as well.

INSTRUCTIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Paramount among the implications of developmental perspectives on ethnic identity formation and racial consciousness for implementing multicultural education are (a) diagnosis of student readiness for certain instructional experiences, and (b) the modification of the curriculum to accommodate multiculturalism at the various levels of students' developmental readiness. Classroom teachers and curriculum designers should compile readiness profiles of students, determine the kinds of ethnic content and experiences most appropriate for different developmental levels, and develop interfaces or linkages between multicultural content and basic social studies objectives and emphases. The students' readiness profiles must include, of necessity, assessments of cognitive, moral, social, and ethnic identity developmental levels of maturity.

Pre-Encounter Stage Instructional Implications

No two students are likely to be at the same stage of growth in all areas of development at any given point in time. Although mental, moral, social, and ethnic development occur simultaneously, the rates of growth in the various areas are not identical. A student operating cognitively in the concrete stage and morally at Stage 3 may still be in the pre-encounter stage relative to ethnic awareness and cultural consciousness of self and others. Such a student is capable of understanding rather sophisticated cognitive information and value dilemmas about social studies issues, other than ethnicity, as long as the content is associated with concrete and pragmatic personal experiences. However, for this student, instruction in ethnicity would have to be at the introductory level of consciousness-raising and awareness development.

Thus, pre-encounter students would be more likely to benefit from instruc-

tion which introduces them to some basic facts about the "who," "what," and "why" of ethnic and cultural pluralism in the United States than from instruction which places heavy emphasis on the examination and clarification of attitudes, values, and beliefs about the life styles, heritages, and experiences of ethnic groups. To be consistent with the characteristics of this stage of ethnic identity/cultural awareness development, the facts presented should emphasize the more specific, concrete, and conspicuous aspects of ethnicity, such as identifying ethnic customs, artifacts, contributions, symbols, celebrations, institutions, and heroes; examining the physical and behavioral variations within and among ethnic groups in the United States; and exploring the factual aspects of social problems (e.g., housing, education, employment, population patterns, politics, etc.) which different ethnic, cultural, and social groups encounter. Affectively, pre-encounter students can begin to examine their perceptions, likes, and dislikes about ethnic groups, and to explore how ethnic prejudices, myths, and stereotypes are formed. For instance, primary-school children should be expected to include ethnic and racial descriptors in activities requiring them to determine an answer to the question "Who am I?" They should be encouraged to include their blackness, brownness, whiteness, redness, and/or yellowness among the lists of personal attributes and visual depictions of self, as readily as they include sex, eye color, name, age, hair color, height, and family membership.

Students in the intermediate grades and above can examine case studies of prejudice and discrimination against ethnic groups. These might include such situations as personal accounts of experiences with prejudices found in the writings of different ethnic groups, Rosa Parks' confrontation with the Montgomery public transit system, newspaper headlines and stories about the "Yellow Peril" in the nineteenth century, and accounts of ethnic injustices in their local communities. They might also participate in simulations on prejudices similar to the one portrayed in "Eye of the Storm" (Anti-Defamation League, 1968), and in role-playing and moral-dilemma discussions about ethnically-related events involving discrimination and injustices. They could also view and react to films and filmstrips depicting these kinds of experiences. Although these examinations may be rather superficial, and the explanations provided for ethnic attitudes, values, and beliefs may be quite stereotypical and categorical, they are nonetheless essential components of multicultural education in the social studies. Given that ethnic awareness among pre-encounter stage youth is largely subliminal and/or distorted, these and similar activities seem particularly appropriate for developing readiness for subsequent learning experiences that are more direct confrontations with ethnic diversity, for attacking negative attitudes toward one's own and others' ethnicity in the formative phases of development, and for beginning to bring subliminal ethnic awareness and attitudes to the conscious level to analyze and modify them better.

Encounter Stage Instructional Implications

As we suggested earlier, encounter stage ethnic development is psychologically traumatic, highly emotionally charged, and very volatile. Cognitive rationality tends to be subsumed by ethnic emotionalism and high levels of

ethnocentricism. Since the person's whole sense of identity and worth is under attack at this stage, he or she will reject instructional efforts which attempt to examine self-ethnicity dispassionately and objectively. These individuals are also likely to be turned off completely to the study of ethnic groups other than their own.

Taking these developmental perspectives into consideration, the classroom teacher who wishes to multiculturalize social studies instruction would be wise to include case studies of different ethnic groups, with an emphasis on the groups' activities and experiences which address such issues as confirmation and clarification of identity, cultural consciousness, ideologies of identity, political mobilization, and protests against oppression and exploitation. The curriculum must be flexible enough to allow the "encountering ethnic students" to *self-select* case studies on their own ethnic group for examination. It should also encourage the use of expressive-arts materials (i.e., song lyrics, political rhetoric, real and fictional autobiographies, poetry, drama, etc.) as sources of information about the groups' interpretations of "who we are," "the essence of our ethnicity," "our cultural heritages, values, beliefs, and traits," and "the import of our socio-political problems." This instructional technique might be called an "ethno-bibliotherapy approach" to the study of ethnic and cultural pluralism.

The ethno-bibliotherapy approach to the study of ethnicity serves a dual function. First, it introduces a series of mini-units on ethnicity from various group perspectives into the social studies curriculum. These units may be subsumed into such broader social studies concepts as change, identity, culture, conflict, universality, diversity, and interdependence. A second function which this instructional technique serves is to help students to deal with their own personal ethnic identity dilemmas, through exploring the various meanings of "Black is beautiful," "Brown is fine," "Yellow is mellow," and "White is alright," from their own ethnic perspectives, and discovering how others have dealt with their identity crises. Thus, a Slavic American student in the encounter stage might find reading Michael Novak's "Confessions of a White Ethnic" (in *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*) personally therapeutic and informative, as would a Native American reading Joyce Rockwood's *To Spoil the Sun,* a Puerto Rican reading Piri Thomas' *Down These Mean Streets,* an Afro-American reading Alex Haley's *Roots* or Robert Teague's *Letters to a Black Boy,* or a Chinese American examining Jade Snow Wong's *Fifth Chinese Daughter.* Thus, this approach encourages all students to learn about the various methods and means that different ethnic groups and individuals employ to "come to terms with their ethnicity" and social problems, as well as to explore their own concerns.

The ethnic case studies approach to helping students deal with their "conscious confrontations with ethnicity" has several other advantages. First, it is quite compatible with some standard techniques used in social studies instruction to develop skills in conflict resolution, problem-solving, and values clarification. Second, it provides a wealth of ethnically-specific, value-laden issues that can serve both as content *and* context for students to practice values clarification and problem-solving skills. Third, it can help students to gain some insight into the general social and political climates of the nation at the time when the personal accounts of self-ethnic identity development were

written, as well as into the political, cultural, and social agendas of the particular ethnic group in question. Fourth, ethno-bibliotherapy can also help students put their own ethnic developmental processes in better perspective by facilitating understanding of (a) the notion that the positive formation of ethnic identity is a gradual developmental process, (b) the way in which the social studies concept of "change" is associated with ethnic identification development, cultural consciousness, and appreciation for pluralism, and (c) the way that personal power is associated with a strong sense of self-esteem and ethnic identity and the reasons for this close association.

Post-Encounter Stage Instructional Implications

Students who have progressed to the post-encounter stage have clarified their own ethnic identities and are psychologically secure in them. They can easily share their ethnic heritages and experiences with others and are receptive to learning about the experiences and cultures of other ethnics. They are not content with isolated facts about isolated ethnic groups. Rather, these students are more interested in understanding ethnic experiences within the broader contexts of the American and the human experience. They are capable of examining the interaction among ethnic pluralism, the American experience, and globalism, or pan-humanism. They are also able to understand the more subtle components of ethnic and cultural diversity, and to examine higher-order concepts and concomitant generalizations, such as racism, power, culture, choice-making, norms and values, stereotyping, ethnic enclave, and cultural adaptation. Therefore, especially necessary parts of multicultural education for post-encounter students are "explanations that are sensitive to the circumstances which give rise to group differences . . . and instruction showing that group differences are not exclusively the result simply of genetic traits or attributable simply to the acts of individuals without respect to social, cultural, and historical pressures." (Glock et al., 1975, p. 167, p. 176)

The instructional techniques available for use with post-encounter students are numerous. While information acquisition about ethnic pluralism is still necessary, the primary emphasis should be on concept mastery; generalization formation; hypothesis testing; ethnically-associated values analysis and moral dilemma resolution; problem-solving; social activism for human liberation; and the prizing, promoting, and affirming of ethnic/cultural pluralism. Three sample activities are suggested here to illustrate the kind of skill mastery possible at this stage of ethnic development.

First, when studying the concepts of immigration and assimilation within the context of American history and culture, students might explore the question of "generational patterns of adjustment to the American scene and the related ethnic identity/association patterns of immigrants and their descendants." The students might hypothesize that the longer a group of immigrants lives in the United States (or any country for that matter), the more removed its members become from their original ethnic heritages. Stated another way, third-generation American-born descendants of immigrants are much more

acculturated into mainstream culture than are first- or second-generation American-born ethnics. Japanese Americans might be used as a prototype for testing this hypothesis and for studying other immigrant groups' adjustment patterns in American society and/or the preservation of their own ethnicity. Thus, the Issei (Japan-born), Nisei (first-generation American-born), Sansei (second generation), and Yonsei (third generation) Japanese Americans might be examined comparatively to determine the endurance of their original cultural traits, and their acculturation/assimilation into the American common culture.

Second, using multicultural awareness and ethnic identity development perspectives to teach the concept of "leadership," social studies teachers could ask students in the upper elementary, middle, and/or senior high grades to define a "cultural hero," compile a list of criteria for what constitutes a cultural hero or heroine according to different ethnic groups, and compare these criteria across groups for similarities and differences. Then students might identify a list of potential candidates (real or fictitious, contemporary or historical) who might be considered heroes/heroines for different ethnic groups, assess each of the candidates' attributes against the list of criteria, and choose the ones most qualified to receive the status of "an ethnic (specified by group) cultural hero or heroine." Students' choices might be further validated or invalidated by polling in-group members within the school and/or local communities. Finally, in-group preferences for cultural leaders could be compared with out-group preferences to determine the degree to which across-group consensus exists on "who is and what makes an ethnic leader."

These kinds of activities encourage students to look at the notion of "leadership" from the perspective of different ethnic groups and help them to understand that a cultural hero/heroine is one who personifies the valued attitudes, norms, beliefs, and behaviors of the ethnic or cultural group of which he or she is a member. They also provide exciting opportunities for students to practice such basic social-studies skills as problem-solving, critical thinking, hypothesizing, data collecting, generalizing, evaluating, values clarification, and inferring within the context of ethnically-specific content, issues, and events.

Third, a teacher might ask students to examine the attitudes, feelings, and reactions of members of different ethnic groups toward various symbols of Americanism, such as the flag, the National Anthem, the Pledge of Allegiance, the Bicentennial Celebration, and Independence Day. They could be encouraged to attempt to infer the ethnic identity developmental levels (e.g., pre-encounter, encounter, and post-encounter stages) of the individuals interviewed from the nature of their responses. They could use the responses to derive generalized reactional patterns for ethnic groups as total entities, to do cross-group comparisons, and to derive an identity development profile for the group as a whole. Such activities will help students understand that different "symbolism" of the American experience may evoke different emotive reactions from different ethnic, cultural, and social groups, as well as

from individuals within groups. They should also lead them to ask these questions: "Why do we find these differential or common reaction patterns by groups or individuals?" and "What do these patterns of reaction to American political and cultural symbols mean in terms of ethnic groups' levels of self-identity and association, as well as the extent of their acculturation and assimilation into the mainstream American common culture?"

CONCLUSION

Developmental perspectives offer great potential for improving efforts to teach ethnically and culturally pluralistic content and experiences in the social studies. The notion of "developmental growth" is as applicable to ethnicity and multicultural education as it is to other aspects of human growth and social studies instruction. It provides a useful conceptual framework for arranging the key goals, objectives, functions, content, experiences, and materials about ethnic pluralism into a scope and sequence that are more congruent with the different levels of student readiness, and with the techniques typically used in social studies curriculum and instruction. The ultimate value of "developmental perspectives" for teaching ethnic and cultural pluralism is clear: Effectiveness is a direct function of the degree to which ethnically pluralistic content and instructional techniques are consistent with a given conception of multicultural education, and with the cognitive, moral, social, and ethnic identity developmental levels of the students for whom they are intended.

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7.
Law-Related Education and Legal Development

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OVER THE PAST DECADE, American society has manifested a concern which centers on a perceived weakening of the general societal commitment to law as the foundation of a democratic system. One aspect of this concern might appropriately be identified as a generalized Watergate phenomenon—a sense that disrespect for the law has infiltrated the highest levels of government and leadership, and that as a result the nation's socio-legal stability has been threatened. The familiar appeal for a return to "law and order," originally a reaction to the civil disobedience and unrest of the 1960s and early 1970s, seems to represent one sort of response to this situation.

A second aspect of the widespread concern over the perceived deterioration of the position of law in American society has focused particularly on educational institutions. The attitudes of many young people seem to reflect the absence of real understanding of, and commitment to, law and the legal system. In response, an emphasis on the responsibility of the schools to remedy this situation has resulted in numerous local, state, and national efforts by educators, legal agencies, and government agencies to initiate and maintain law-related programs in the nation's schools.

Many of these programs focus on practical legal information: the nature of a contract, juvenile rights, what teenagers should do if they are arrested, etc. Others employ a more conceptual approach, concentrating on basic concepts such as justice, property, and authority. Still others integrate both practical and conceptual approaches. The American Bar Association, through its Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship (YEFC), has taken an active role in promoting law-related studies in elementary and secondary schools as an essential feature of preparing students for responsible citizenship.

The YEFC Committee's Directory of Law-Related Educational Activities describes approximately 250 law-related projects throughout the United

States, and an annotated bibliography lists a wide variety of useful materials dealing with both law-related content and pedagogical approaches to law studies. (1974) Despite the proliferation of both educational activities and printed materials during the early 1970s, the YEFC found in 1975 that only a very small percentage of students in elementary and secondary schools were currently exposed to systematic law studies; a correspondingly small number of teachers were prepared either to utilize existing materials adequately or to develop their own law-related curricular materials. (American Bar Association Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship, 1975)

Since the publication of this YEFC report, additional new programs and materials have appeared, and existing law-related education projects have expanded their efforts to reach a wider audience of students and teachers. Most often, however, law-related education remains an elective area of study in a crowded secondary social studies curriculum. Despite the fact that law, in its various manifestations, impinges on their lives in countless ways, exposure to law studies is by no means an educational given for high-school students. In short, the gulf between the existence of curricular materials and their utilization remains to be bridged.

The social pervasiveness of law suggests that law-related studies should be an integral part of social studies education for all students. Legal rules and procedures govern the full range of social interaction, and either existing or potential legal rulings influence aspects of every individual's daily life. Yet, a popular misconception, shared by many high-school students and adults as well, limits law to its role in controlling criminal behavior. While such a view focuses on an obviously significant facet of law, it fosters an incomplete interpretation of the role of law in society. Hence, it may also foster a narrow approach to law-related education, limiting this area of study to the presentation of basic factual information about the structure and function of the contemporary American legal system.

Certainly, the examination of law as a body of authoritative doctrine—e.g., learning about the provisions of narcotics law and about advocacy procedures for criminal and civil justice—will equip students with important information which most of them will undoubtedly use eventually in an increasingly litigious American society. However, law-related education should also present broader perspectives on the role of law in society in both contemporary and historical contexts—e.g., questions of civil disobedience, limits of law, law as an instrument of social change, relationships of law and social class. In other words, law studies should focus on "ought" questions as well as on "is" questions. Such an approach is potentially a more valuable form of citizenship education than the more limited, though certainly useful, "know the law" approach.

DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVES

This sort of comprehensive conceptualization of law-related education embraces sophisticated, abstract societal concerns as well as less complicated, more concrete ideas, and thus presupposes that students can exercise formal operational thinking and can differentiate and relate individual perspectives and group perspectives. Without these capacities, individuals cannot ade-

quately understand and analyze the role of law in society. Indeed, comprehension of the concept of law—a Stage 4 and Stage 5 concept in Kohlbergian terms—presupposes the same capabilities.

Yet, developmental studies have consistently demonstrated that typical high-school students (and large numbers of adults as well) lack these prerequisites. The research suggests that formal operational thinking and mature moral and social development which are contingent upon it appear later than Piaget originally supposed. (Kohlberg & Gilligan, 1971) Some evidence points to the further possibility that formal thought may develop even more slowly in relation to particularly abstract areas of study. (Peel, 1967; Hallam, 1967; 1972; 1974) While this evidence is far from conclusive,[1] it suggests an analogy to the study of law, which is certainly a fundamentally abstract area. Specifically, the findings of developmental psychology point to an integral relationship between law-related learning and individual cognitive and social development.

The research of June L. Tapp has identified a developmental age-related shift in concepts of law from a law-obeying perspective to a law-maintaining perspective, and finally to a more abstract perspective orienting to universal rational principles of justice. Tapp and her colleagues interviewed 115 white, middle-class subjects from kindergarten to college in the United States and 406 pre-adolescent middle-school students in six countries representing seven cultures. An open-ended interview consisting of 79 questions dealing with law, justice, compliance, punishment, and authority was administered to the pre-adolescent subjects in the cross-national study and adapted for the primary and college-level subjects in the United States. (Tapp and Kohlberg, 1971, Tapp, 1970)

Using the data from these interviews, Tapp constructed a classification scheme and a model of legal development which is similar to Kohlberg's scale of moral development. She categorized the data into three levels—preconventional, conventional, and postconventional—according to subjects' responses in three areas: the value and function of rules and laws; the dynamics of legal compliance; and the changeability and breakability of rules. She found that primary-school children generally demonstrated a preconventional orientation. For example, they viewed laws as prohibitive, existing to prevent specific bad acts or crimes, rather than serving any positive social good. They offered negative reasons for complying with laws—e.g., avoidance of punishment or deference to power—and they regarded laws as permanent, almost physical, entities. (Tapp and Kohlberg, 1971)

The majority of the preadolescent subjects in both samples and the college subjects in the United States sample were at the conventional level. In contrast to the preconventional subjects, they viewed the value of law in terms of maintaining order and preventing antisocial behavior. This societal maintenance perspective also applied to their ideas on legal compliance. While they advocated changing or breaking the law in extreme circumstances, they identified systems of law as the core of social order and social welfare. (Tapp and Kohlberg, 1971; Tapp, 1970)

[1] The problems of applying Piagetian concepts in educational settings are outlined in a recent essay by Deanna Kuhn. (1979) Kuhn points out that ambiguities in the theory hamper efforts to utilize it in the classroom. Likewise, these ambiguities complicate replication experiments and follow-up studies.

A minority of the college students presented the postconventional position, viewing laws as norms mutually agreed on by individuals for purposes of personal and social welfare. From this perspective, the postconventional subjects argued that laws which violate fundamental rights or universal moral principles can legitimately be broken, and that universal rational criteria define the need for maintaining laws. (Tapp and Kohlberg, 1971)) The data from Tapp's cross-national, multicultural study supported her conception of legal development as a progression through organized stages of thought. This study also identified conventional legal reasoning as the modal levell for most subjects, a finding that is consistent with the research on cognitive development and cognitive moral development which locates most people at the conventional level with regard to moral reasoning and suggests that between one third and one half of American adults lack formal operational thinking. (Kohlberg and Gilligan, 1971)

Joseph Adelson's research also supports the cognitive theory of legal development. While Adelson did not specifically apply a Kohlbergian model to his studies of legal socialization, he and his colleagues traced the growth of the idea of law during adolescence. They found that the view of law shifts significantly between the ages of 13 and 15, as evidenced by changes from concrete to abstract conceptions of various aspects of law, including purpose, function, and changeability. (Adelson, Green and O'Neil, 1969) Like Tapp's findings, their data are consistent with both Piagetian and Kohlbergian notions of age-related cognitive developmental processes, and, hence, with the notion of sequential growth in legal development.

IMPLICATIONS

Although the cognitive theory of legal development remains essentially a hypothesis, the available empirical evidence concerning the links between cognitive development, the development of moral reasoning, and the development of conceptions of law clearly documents the relevance of developmental perspectives for law-related education. The evidence also raises several important questions which concern law-related education, and other questions which focus on broader law-related matters in a wider societal context. In addition, the evidence suggests specific guidelines for structuring law-related studies at the secondary-school level.

The first set of questions generated by the developmental data concerns the appropriateness and value of law-related education for students whose cognitive developmental levels and social perspective-taking abilities most likely preclude a full understanding of law. Under this heading, social studies educators need to ask: Is law-related education of any value for students below the high-school level? Should we try to teach high-school students about law even if they lack the ability to understand the concept fully? Why should law-related education include discussions of the role of law in society, if the majority of students have limited social perspectives? Why not restrict law-related education to the presentation of a body of facts which would equip students to respond appropriately in their own interests in matters of a legal

nature? And, finally, if despite developmental limitations, we view law-related education as an important aspect of citizenship education, and thus as a vital part of the secondary social-studies curriculum, what goals should be adopted, what form should law studies take, what materials should be used, and what should be expected of students?

A second set of questions focuses on the implications of the data for legal socialization and law enforcement beyond the parameters of the school. Certainly, any detailed consideration of broad societal concerns remains well beyond the scope of the present discussion and, in a sense, is peripheral to its major purpose. But a brief consideration seems pertinent, inasmuch as law-related education is consistently viewed as preparation for citizenship and participation in the wider society. In this area, a primary question seems to be: Are higher stages of legal development necessarily better or more adequate; would society be better off if everyone reasoned at the postconventional level with regard to matters of law? The research on the cognitive theory of legal development implies that socializing agencies beyond the school—e.g., the home and the community—should be concerned with determining what procedures are effective in stimulating legal development. If most people view the law from a societal maintenance perspective—the modal conventional level identified by Tapp—why should society have this concern? As long as citizens obey the law and thereby uphold social order, what more is required for social stability?

In addition to providing bases for questions about legal socialization in general, the data suggest related questions focusing on law enforcement. Do we want police officers to analyze laws according to postconventional principles, or do we want them simply to "enforce the law"? Should law-enforcement personnel be screened with regard to legal development? What kinds of law-enforcement problems might be caused by the presence of large numbers of articulate postconventional citizens in a society? Certainly, philosophical questions of this type are removed from concrete classroom concerns; but such questions ultimately underlie the search for a rationale, structure, and goals for law-related education, and thus they remain relevant.

While the developmental data pose difficult questions, these findings also indicate potentially fruitful directions for educators who are interested in law-related education. First, the research highlights the importance of providing "developmental match" in law curricula. The work of Tapp, Kohlberg, Adelson, and others (e.g., Hess and Torney, 1967) suggests that law-related education below the secondary-school level should focus on concrete ideas and information, since students below the age of approximately 16 typically lack the necessary cognitive structures for thinking about law in a societal context. Many of the current law-education programs which emphasize practical knowledge and procedural information—field trips to observe court proceedings, visits to correctional institutions, interviews with public officials and law enforcement personnel—meet this criterion. If abstract thinking skills and wide social perspectives begin to develop when students reach high-school age, then secondary social-studies teachers can move from the more concrete to the abstract in law studies; that is, they can begin to introduce a focus on the role of law in society.

Teachers need to remain aware that students will understand and process law-related information in terms of their own development. Research findings suggest that individuals do not comprehend moral reasoning that is more than one stage above their own current stage. (Rest, 1973; Rest, Turiel, and Kohlberg, 1969) Given the integral relationship between moral and legal concepts, this conclusion most likely applies to legal reasoning as well. Thus, while eighth-grade students may succeed in memorizing the Declaration of Independence or the Preamble to the United States Constitution, they will not understand these documents in any meaningful sense. Rather, they will interpret the ideas in terms of their own stages of moral-legal thinking. Similarly, young people will assimilate law-related concepts such as authority in terms of their own development—e.g., in punishment and reward terms—rather than in terms of a social contract.

The research further suggests that law-related education should be concerned with the stimulation of legal development from the preconventional to the conventional and eventually to the postconventional level as a prerequisite process for the development of an expanding understanding of the role of law in society. It seems appropriate to infer that, like Piagetian and Kohlbergian stage change, legal development requires interaction between cognitive structures and environmental factors. Thus, in addition to transmitting substantive knowledge about law and the legal system, law-related curricula should offer students diverse interactive and participatory experiences, such as role-playing and rule-making, and should provide exposure to cognitive conflict in the context of discussions which involve law-related questions.

Various educational interventions designed to stimulate and facilitate natural developmental processes (Blatt and Kohlberg, 1975; Colby et al., 1977) have shown that movement in the areas of cognitive development, cognitive moral development, and social perspective-taking occurs slowly over a period of years. Such movement also requires multiple opportunities for exposure to facilitating conditions. If these findings are correct, they indicate clearly that law-related education should be an integral part of the social studies curriculum. While one-semester electives and mini-courses offer a beginning, such experiences do not provide adequately for student development in the area of law. If students are to progress toward the development of broad perspectives on the role of law in society, a mini-course or a unit of law study in a government course simply does not offer enough exposure.

Thus, law studies should begin with a focus on the familiar and the concrete in elementary and middle school and move sequentially to an examination of broader and more abstract ideas in high school. In addition to offering separate law-related studies, the secondary social-studies curriculum should treat this area of study in the contexts of the disciplines which comprise the social studies. History courses should include historical perspectives on law; sociology courses should present sociological aspects of law; etc. Such an infusion of law-related learning has the potential to illustrate for students the pervasiveness of law and its relevance to all facets of life, as well as to facilitate legal development and the process of legal socialization.

THE SPECIFICS

As always, any discussion of the educational implications of a body of research leads ultimately to a focus on practical concerns: What can individual social studies teachers actually do in the way of integrating developmental perspectives and law-related education? Many teachers whose interests and backgrounds have prepared them to do so are currently teaching law as a separate offering in schools where the curriculum provides room for such electives. For those teachers, the wealth of interesting published materials currently available offers a variety of thematic and topical alternatives around which to build their courses.

Such teachers may find it useful to review the materials they presently use, as well as to evaluate new materials from a developmental frame of reference. This approach may assist them in making decisions concerning materials by providing them with specific criteria for selection, in addition to reading level and possible interest level. While it may be impractical for teachers to evaluate curricular materials empirically, they can certainly examine them to estimate the level of concreteness or abstraction and the potential for stimulating the development of broad societal perspectives on law.

Certain materials—for example, West Publishing Company's Law in Action series—clearly emphasize concrete and familiar experiences in their presentations of law-related information. By focusing on situations with which students have some personal connection—e.g., illustrating the principle of representation through the example of a school-lunch menu committee—these materials build student understanding of the concrete aspects of legal concepts as a preliminary to extending that understanding to a more abstract level. The Law in Action series, which includes *Lawmaking, Youth Attitudes and Police, Juvenile Problems and Law, Courts and Trials,* and *Young Consumers,* is designed for middle-school students, who would presumably be prepared by their experiences with this material to cope with more complicated law-related material in high school.

However, many students encounter law-related studies for the first time in their junior or senior year in high school. While the concrete focus of this series might be compatible with their developmental levels, the interest level of the Law in Action series might pose a problem. The Living Law series, *Criminal Justice* and *Civil Justice,* published by the Constitutional Rights Foundation and Scholastic, offers materials which attempt to present basic legal concepts in a concrete manner appropriate for high-school students. Emphasis on student opinion, discussion, debate, role-playing, simulation, and peer teaching provides opportunities for varied experiences which are likely to facilitate student development and to interest high-school students. Thus, this series would be particularly useful as a first exposure to law-related education at the secondary level. The Constitutional Rights Foundation's Youth Action Curriculum mini-units, designed to involve students actively in law-related learning through participatory projects—e.g., community-based activities to reduce neighborhood burglaries—would serve a similar purpose.

Other interesting materials targeted for use in high-school courses seem clearly designed for students whose cognitive development has reached at least the beginning formal operational level with regard to law-related ideas.

For example, another West publication, *The Idea of Liberty; First Amendment Freedoms,* outlines the development of First Amendment freedoms in a case-study format. Both the content and approach of this volume appear to assume that students have the capacity to consider Stage 4 and Stage 5 conceptions of the idea of liberty. Similarly, the attractive Science Research Associates high-school text, *Understanding the Law,* which provides a comprehensive survey of laws and legal processes, would be most useful with students whose thinking skills have developed sufficiently to permit them to understand legal concepts at an abstract level.

An intriguing series of materials developed by the Law in a Free Society Project seems to represent a concerted effort to meet the developmental needs of students in a law-related context. The project's multimedia instructional units focus on eight law-related concepts: authority, privacy, responsibility, justice, freedom, property, diversity, and participation. Six levels of materials, targeted for grades K–1, 2–3, 4–5, 5–6, 7–9, and 10–12, attempt to teach each concept at increasing levels of complexity. The high-school materials represent a fairly sophisticated level of abstraction, but the earlier levels provide more concrete illustrations of each concept. An interesting developmental use of these materials in a secondary setting might be structured around a review of the treatment of a specific concept at all six levels, followed by an adaptation of specific concrete activities suggested for younger students for use with high-school students. Thus, a secondary social-studies teacher could utilize all the materials in the series to prepare students to get the maximum benefit from the more sophisticated lessons targeted for the secondary level.

In addition to examining curricular materials from a developmental perspective, teachers currently teaching law-related courses may find it instructive to consider the potential of participatory governance experiences, such as the "just community" and the civic education community described elsewhere in this Bulletin, for enhancing legal development. Lawrence Kohlberg's early participatory democratic experiment, the Cluster School in Cambridge, Massachusetts, seems to have succeeded in enhancing students' cognitive moral development. (Wasserman, 1976) Most likely, students' legal development can also be strengthened through experiences which require them to make and enforce rules, develop sanctions, and resolve conflicts focusing on property, privacy, etc. within the classroom.

Beyond the numerous possibilities presented by various published materials which teachers can use in imaginative ways to address the specific developmental needs of their students, what can be done about making law-related education an integral focus for the entire social studies curriculum? An innovative high-school option in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, offers students throughout the city an opportunity to enroll in a Law and Public Service magnet program which includes several courses which might serve as models for this effort. As part of their required curriculum, students in the magnet program study World Cultures, with emphasis on criminal justice systems; United States history, with emphasis on the evolution of democratic institutions; and American Democracy, with emphasis on the political process and citizen rights. Such models suggest that law-related material can be incorporated into those courses which are generally regarded as the core of the sec-

ondary social-studies curriculum and are typically required for all students. In addition to adding interesting content to basic social-studies courses, this approach would expose virtually all high-school students to law-related studies, rather than exclude those students whose schools, for whatever reasons, do not offer separate law courses.

The obvious place to begin to infuse law perspectives into the existing curriculum is American history. A conscious effort to do so can produce a wealth of specific situational opportunities involving the experiences of the Quakers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the American Revolution, the Civil War, the settlement of the West, and contemporary affairs in Vietnam, Iran, Afghanistan, etc. A second approach could involve the examination of the history of law enforcement and crime from a perspective of social history—introducing considerations such as the nature of deviance and changing conceptions of crime over time—either within the chronological context of a typical survey course or as a unit of study in a thematic or topical course.

When teachers move into the areas of World Cultures, global studies, and the history of Western Civilization, a variety of other constructive possibilities present themselves. Comparing and contrasting law-enforcement mechanisms and criminal and civil justice can add an interesting dimension to the study of other cultures. Furthermore, an examination of law-related phenomena in both Western and non-Western contemporary and historical settings should help to broaden students' perspectives on the role of law in society. Such an examination can also contribute to the achievement of more general goals for the study of other cultures.

While civics and government courses typically include law-related material in their presentations of the federal system of government, the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the legislative process, etc., the focus often is on mastering specific facts and concepts. Teachers can build upon students' mastery of such material to expand law-related learning. For example, students can be asked to consider the implications of specific information—how a bill becomes a law or how the First Amendment tries to guarantee freedom of speech—for an American democratic interpretation of the role of law in society.

High-school sociology and economics courses, too, offer appropriate contexts for law-related study. The legal aspects of social inequality, class differences, social stratification, and problems of urban life can easily be included in the treatment of these themes. Here, too, teachers can encourage discussion of controversial law-related questions: Does our legal system effectively function differently for the poor? Does law serve as a way of protecting the interests of elite groups in society? And, finally, because the legal system is a fundamental component of any society, the comparative study of, for example, primitive and technologically-advanced societies can easily include law-related information. Similarly, law has a place in economics courses, certainly in the comparative study of economic systems. Important questions include: What is the relationship between traditional, command, and market systems and their respective legal systems? Do different economic systems seem to develop different legal systems? What are the basic components of labor law in our market economy?

CONCLUSION

Law-related education continues to grow. Both new and well-established projects are producing curricular materials for students from K-12. Many of these projects are also providing opportunities for interested teachers at all levels to enroll in in-service courses designed to familiarize them with various aspects of law and to prepare them to utilize law-related materials. The focus of these efforts ranges from specific topics, such as criminal justice procedures, to more general considerations, such as the law in literature.

No doubt, if the interest in law-related education continues and financial support for such efforts remains available, more and more teachers will receive training in this area. If such training incorporates developmental perspectives with substantive law-related content, the end result may improve student learning significantly. As teachers take advantage of opportunities for such exposure, law-related study can become an integral part of the entire social studies curriculum, rather than an elective area of study. If law-related education represents an essential part of citizenship education, every social studies course ought to include a law-related dimension. Developmental research can serve as a source of guidance for the social studies teacher in implementing this important aspect of social studies education.

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8.

Strict and Loose Constructionism: Defining and Refining Developmental Social Education

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WHEN THE plan for this Bulletin was formulated, I was asked to provide a concluding chapter which would set out a constructive, critical perspective on the earlier chapters and suggest productive directions for future curriculum work. In what follows, I will focus primarily on the problem of defining, or characterizing, developmental education. After that, I will present three recommendations for needed work for programs with a developmental perspective.

WHAT IS DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION?

All of the chapters in this Bulletin are written from a developmental perspective, yet their diversity is striking. This diversity shows in two ways: one is in the variety of developmental psychologies employed; the other is in the variety of applications of these psychologies. To illustrate:

(1) Cheryl Kubelick applies the work of Kohlberg and Damon in establishing a design for an elementary educational community.
(2) James Brown draws on Piaget, Selman, and Kohlberg in suggesting how middle-school social studies might be taught.
(3) Geneva Gay taps Selman and Cross for guidance in formulating an approach to multicultural education.
(4) Linda Rosenzweig looks to Kohlberg, Tapp, and Adelson for aid in shaping law-related education for elementary and secondary schooling.
(5) Thomas Wyeth claims Kohlberg for the foundation of a secondary civic education program.

(6) Christian Laville and Linda Rosenzweig adopt Piaget in an effort to establish a workable and defensible proposal for the teaching of history.

All of these programs claim to reflect a developmental basis. Nonetheless, each is quite different from the others. In what sense, then, can they be understood to be developmental education?

As I read through the chapters, it seemed that developmental psychology was being used in three ways: as a source of instructional methods, as a source of educational goals, and as a source for both. These uses show in the following ways:

1. *Developmental psychology as a source of instructional methods.*

In this application, selected principles of developmental psychology are used in creating ways of teaching toward "conventional" educational objectives. For example, Laville and Rosenzweig believe cognitive-developmental psychology can provide a basis for more effective teaching of history. Using Piaget's description of cognitive development, they attempt to tailor their teaching methods for those students not yet capable of complex formal operational thought. Their primary educational end is drawn from a conception of the study of history. The findings of developmental psychology are used as a means to that end.

2. *Developmental psychology as a source of educational goals.*

In this application, successive movement through the benchmarks of a developmental sequence is a central purpose of education, and attainment of the final, or highest, stage is the ultimate aim. For Kohlbergians, for example, attainment of principled reasoning is the aim; for Piagetians, attainment of full formal operations is the aim; and so on with other developmental schemes.

The chapters by Kubelick and Wyeth reflect this usage of developmental psychology. Their programs pursue a variety of objectives and employ a variety of methods of instruction. Their distinctive use of developmental psychology, however, is in the formulation of their program aims. For Kubelick, the development of justice is a central purpose of the Falk Laboratory School. Similarly, for Wyeth, the pursuit of community consciousness is seen as a step toward student attainment of a principled conception of justice—an essential element in his vision of citizenship education.

3. *Developmental psychology as a source of educational goals and instructional methods.*

In this application, attainment of the final stages of a developmental system is the aim of the program, and the materials and methods of instruction are derived explicitly from notions of the processes of stage transition. The chapters by Brown, Gay, and, to a lesser degree, Rosenzweig reflect this usage of developmental psychology.

Brown sees the attainment of formal operations as "a legitimate major objective" for the middle school. He goes on to identify teaching strategies appropriate for students who think at the concrete and early formal operational stages. These strategies are designed to facilitate full cognitive development.

Gay's suggestions for multicultural education make a similar use of developmental psychology. Relying primarily on Cross's formulation of stages of ethnic identity, she seeks to help students attain the post-encounter stage. In addition, she recommends methods and materials which logically seem likely to promote development.

Rosenzweig's use of Kohlberg's and Tapp's ideas about legal development follows that of Brown and Gay, although she is less specific in her program recommendations.

These rough categories can describe how developmental psychology is applied by the authors. The categories do not, however, go very far toward providing a definition of developmental education. There are a number of reasons why such a definition is needed.

Until recently, thought and research on developmental education have been conducted at the university level. The practice and promise of developmental education are now receiving wider attention among curriculum developers and teachers. Jack Fraenkel has suggested that there is a "Kohlberg bandwagon" upon which educators are jumping. (1976) His imagery is probably overdramatic; but, as the chapters in this Bulletin attest, increasing numbers of people are finding developmentalism an attractive basis upon which to build programs.

It would be unfortunate if the phrase "developmental education" became a bit of jargon tossed about to characterize increasingly diverse and, perhaps, disparate programs. To dismiss developmental education as a fad, before a fair test of its promise has been made in practice, would be a mistake.

The working definition of an educational innovation can become so broad that virtually any practice can be made to fit the definition in some way. When virtually any practice can fit a definition, the power of the definition is lost, and, worse, the potential value of the prescribed practice is dissipated. Putting old wine in new bottles is usually a needless change.

Establishing sharp definitions should not be regarded as the exclusive province of lexicographers or wordsmiths. The fate of promising educational movements can hinge, in part, on the clarity and coherence of their dominant purposes and practices. If developmental education is to become a distinctive approach to schooling, we must be able to distinguish it from those approaches which are non-developmental.

DEFINING DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION

In this section, I will propose some characteristics that can be used to define developmental education. I will then try out this definition to see to what extent the programs described earlier can be understood as developmental education.

Initially, I think that we should distinguish between those programs with a "developmental perspective," and those which have development as their expressed educational aim. Laville and Rosenzweig use developmental psychology as an aid to better teaching of history. As such, their program has a developmental perspective, but the promotion of development is not their aim.

How, then, should we define developmental education? At the turn of the nineteenth century, Republicans and Federalists argued about how the Constitution should be interpreted. The former preferred a "strict construction" and the latter a "loose construction" of the Constitution. A similar effort can be made in trying to define developmental education. I will first suggest a "strict constructionist" definition of developmental education and later comment on a possible "loose constructionist" version.

In order to meet the most rigorous or strict definition of developmental education, a program should meet the following four criteria:

1. *The program's primary goal must be the facilitation of student development through the stages of a well-researched developmental psychology.*

The stages should meet criteria of the type set out by Rosenzweig in her overview. For example, the stages should be demonstrably sequential—each stage building on the attainments reflected in the preceding stage. Each stage should be a "structured whole"—it should describe capacities which generalize across a variety of intellectual or other tasks. Attainment of the final, preferred stage should not be inevitable in the normal course of human development. If attainment of the final stage occurs naturally, it would be gratuitous as an aim of schooling. Finally, the developmental process must be amenable to instructional treatment. It would be pointless to pursue development as an aim of education, if the course of development could not be influenced by schooling.

2. *A sound justification for promoting stage development as an aim of education must be presented.*

The identification of a developmental stage system, even if it meets the criteria stated above, is not equivalent to the identification of worthwhile educational goals. The developmental educator must explain why facilitation of development is a defensible and desirable educational pursuit.

3. *Teaching materials and methods must be logically related to the dynamics of stage development.*

Materials and methods need to be designed in such a way that there is reason to believe that they stimulate the process of stage development. There is much to be learned about the process of stage transition. Nonetheless, the methods and materials of a program must be based on some reasonable assumptions about the dynamics of stage movement and, where possible, on research-grounded explanations of development.

4. *Program evaluation must be based, in part, on effectiveness in stimulating development.*

This point is too obvious to belabor. If some form of development is the aim of a program, then some measure of development must be included in the program's evaluation plan.

In summary, if a program is to be characterized as developmental, the "strict constructionist" definition requires that it possess a well-researched developmental psychology, a defensible rationale for stimulating develop-

ment, developmentally-based methods and materials, and developmental measures as part of the evaluation plan.

The four features, and their internal criteria, of the "strict constructionist" definition require further work and clarification. Nonetheless, even this rough definition can help us to identify programs, or parts of programs, which represent instances of developmental education. This function of the definition can be assessed by applying it to some of the programs described in this Bulletin.[1]

Some of the goals of Wyeth's Civic Education Project are developmental, while others are not. For example, the goals of stimulating cognitive and moral development are based on psychologies consistent with the first criterion of the strict definition. Wyeth also claims that the goals of promoting self-esteem, self-knowledge, and personal identity are developmental. He does not identify a psychology of development in these areas, however, so it is difficult to determine if these aims should be regarded as developmental.

Some of the teaching strategies in the Civic Education Project meet the third criterion of the strict definition; others do not. For example, elements of the weekly community meeting are intended to engage students in the kinds of deliberation generally believed to promote moral development. Having students grapple with the problems of establishing and enforcing school rules regarding smoking and class-cutting is consistent with Kohlbergian instruction in which students express, clarify, and defend their moral judgments.

Other teaching strategies are not clearly derived from principles of stage development. Student involvement in planning recreation, designing T-shirts and mailboxes, learning communication skills, or studying the concept of justice through history may or may not stimulate the processes of cognitive or moral development.

From a "strict constructionist" viewpoint, there are some elements of Wyeth's program which seem distinctly developmental, and some which do not. This finding should not be regarded as a judgment of the program's worth. The point is that the definition helps us to focus on the parts of a multifaceted program which seem to qualify as developmental and those which do not.

In a similar way, we can look at Kubelick's elementary program. Kubelick does not elaborate on the Falk School's goals, but suggests that the development of a sense of justice, in the Kohlberg-Damon sense, is a central purpose of the program. As such, the aims would appear developmental in a way consistent with the first criterion of the strict definition.

Some of the Falk School teaching strategies show a close connection to developmental dynamics, and others do not. For example, the emphasis on role-taking, as opposed to role-playing, in parts of the program is consistent with what is currently believed a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for advance in moral reasoning. Also, children's involvement in the formulation of rules fits, in a general way, with the aim of moral development. On the

[1]Because of space limitations, the authors of most the chapters have not spent much time explaining their rationales or describing evaluation procedures. In applying the "strict constructionist" definition, therefore, I have focused on criteria one and three, those dealing with the psychological system adopted and the methods and materials used in each program.

other hand, such activities as making personal heralds, keeping behavior checklists, and participating in some of the social skills strategies are not derived directly from a developmental framework.

From a "strict constructionist" viewpoint, some features of the Falk program, as with the Civic Education Project, appear clearly developmental in origin. It would be a mistake, however, to say that both programs, *in their entirety,* are examples of the developmental education in practice.

Unlike Wyeth and Kubelick, Brown has not attempted to describe broad school practices. He limits his focus to developmental applications to middle-school social studies. His goal is the development of formal operational thought, and he attempts to tie teaching strategies directly to specific stages of cognitive development. His program appears to meet both the first and third criteria of the strict definition of developmental education.

I should reiterate that this method of applying the "strict constructionist" definition is an analytic exercise, not an evaluative one. Determining the extent to which a program can be characterized as developmental education is not equivalent to determining its educational worth. There is more to good education than the pursuit of stage development. Effective ways of managing and motivating students, for example, are essential for any good program—developmental or not. It is unreasonable to expect all educational practices to be derived tightly from a conception of developmental education. However, when a program claims to be developmental, we must be able to identify those components of the program which are derived from developmental theory and those which are not. Without this, comparative program evaluation is imprecise—if not impossible—and refinement of current practices lacks guidance.

The "strict constructionist" definition is intentionally restrictive. Its purpose is, in part, to help developmental education become a distinct approach to curriculum and instruction. Some may feel, however, that it is too restrictive. They might prefer a "loose constructionist" definition.

It is difficult to specify what would constitute a "loose construction" of developmental education. One version might require that one or more of the four features of the "strict constructionist" version be present, but not be applied too rigorously. For example, a loose definition might not require that the developmental scheme employed have the properties called for in the strict definition.

Gay's usage of Cross's developmental stages could fit such a "loose constructionist" definition. As she indicates, for example, not enough is known about the stages of ethnic identity to determine if they are invariant or sequential. Similarly, it is not clear how or if they can be affected by teaching strategies. Nonetheless, her ideas could fit a loose definition in that a form of development is the aim of instruction, and an attempt to establish stage-relevant methods and materials has been made.

A variety of "loose constructions" of developmental education could be worked out, but I prefer to devote no more time to this issue here. I have intended to stress, however, that it is important that clear definitions be established. The matter is far from settled.

In closing this section, I will set aside the problems of definition and turn to the problem of justification. It was indicated earlier that the extent to which a

program is based on developmental psychology should not be regarded as an index of its educational worth. What becomes vital is how the rationale for the program is formulated and defended.

Kohlberg wisely has warned educators not to commit the "psychologist's fallacy." (1979) Most simply put, the fallacy is the error of assuming that psychological findings about human growth and development, no matter how sophisticated or well-founded, should become aims of education. The "facts" of human development are not *ipso facto* desirable aims for education. The translation of psychological concepts into goals for schooling requires a philosophical argument setting out and defending worthwhile aims for education. Only if the later stages of a developmental psychology are consistent with such aims are they worthy of promoting in schools. Good psychology is not the same thing as good education.

If developmental education is to become a significant force in social education, continual refinement of its rationale must occur. There may be a tendency for the term "developmental education" to become a metaphorical honorific banner. Wrapping programs in such a banner does not endow them with educational virtue. Continual philosophical justification, psychological research, and pedagogical experimentation are necessary if the curricular movement is to maintain its vitality and value.

The diversity of approaches discussed in this Bulletin demonstrates the vitality and fecundity of developmentalism. The emerging developmental conception of education is a rich one capable of spawning a variety of applications. For my part, I have tried to show that the pursuit of issues of definition and justification is essential if the distinctiveness and promise of developmental education are to be maintained and realized. There is much to be done.

A PREFERRED VIEW OF THE FUTURE OF DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION

Linda Rosenzweig, editor of this Bulletin, has given me the opportunity to consider the future of developmental education. I am not inclined toward the predilections of a Nostradamus, so there will be no prognostications to follow. Instead, I will limit myself to discussion of three tasks which I believe should take high priority on any developmentalist's list of things that need to be done.

1. *Short-term objectives associated with, or contributory to, the long-term aims of developmental education should be established.*

The stimulation of development is a long-term process. Few teachers will see their students attain the highest stages of development. From what is currently known about moral development, for example, it appears that principled reasoning rarely occurs before the age of twenty, and, even then, comparatively few people consistently employ such reasoning.

Many conventionally-stated educational goals (e.g., appreciation of history, "responsible" citizenship, etc.) are not realized in the short run; but most developmental goals, as currently formulated, seem especially abstract and distant. Teachers committed to developmental goals must be willing to

see their contributions as part of a long-term, imperceptible process. To some extent, this is inevitable; but it is unreasonable to expect a substantial number of teachers to embrace developmental education when the measure of success seems so distant. I suspect that this is especially true for teachers at the elementary and middle-school levels.

The developmental movement would be well served by the setting out of short-term, observable, or measurable objectives associated with long-term developmental progress. Ideally, these objectives would be of worth in themselves, as well as in their contribution to development.

There already are promising candidates for such objectives. Selman's role-taking stages lend themselves to observable outcomes. As Kubelick indicates—especially in the incident involving Bob and Julie—progress in role-taking ability can be seen, even with young children. Further elaboration and refinement of the description of role-taking capacities will be a useful contribution to developmental education.

Other observable, short-term objectives consistent with developmental aims are possible. One of these, in the moral development area, can be characterized as improvement in moral perception, or moral recognition abilities. The focus here would be to help students to identify and analyze moral and other values. For example, students would learn to identify values and value conflicts in historical or contemporary events; they would try to define the meaning of values; they would try to distinguish personal preferences from moral obligations; and so on.

These more analytic pursuits complement development, and student abilities in these areas can be readily identified. Students might, for example, be asked to identify the central value conflicts in Thomas Jefferson's deliberations about the abolition of slavery in Virginia and the emancipation of his own slaves. Increased student ability to perform such tasks is both measurable and observable.

It is vital that such short-term objectives be connected directly with developmental aims. The objectives must be logically or empirically shown to enhance or enrich the processes of development. There is a variety of desirable educational objectives; enthusiastic developmental educators should avoid claiming them all under the rubric of developmental education. For example, the enhancement of self-esteem is an attractive objective for many teachers. It is not clear, however, that feelings of self-worth are necessarily developmental or contributory to other forms of development. Teachers may wish to promote self-esteem as an objective, but, unless its relationship to development can be worked out, it should not be claimed as a component of *developmental* education.

2. *A body of sound, developmentally-based curriculum materials for all grade levels should be created and made accessible widely.*

There are few developmentally-based curriculum materials available for social studies teachers.[2] By and large, commercial publishers are still wedded

[2]There are, of course, some materials available which clearly embody the developmental perspective of Kohlberg. For example, P. Scharf, T. Ladenburg, and M. Ladenburg, *Moral Education: A Classroom Workbook* (Davis, California: Responsible Action, 1978). Also, various sound filmstrip series created by Selman, Fenton, and Kohlberg are available from Guidance Associates; e.g., *Values in a Democracy, Universal Values in American History, Relationships and Values, First Things: Values,* and *First Things: Social Reasoning.*

to the textbook which presents a version of history, sociology, etc. drawn from academic conceptions of their study. Teachers who become attracted to developmental conceptions of education may become frustrated quickly by the paucity of available material.

I think it is indisputable that we need more quality developmental curricula. In addition, I think that this material should be specifically designed to fit with topics taught in typical social studies courses. The aims of developmental education cannot be served on a broad basis unless curricula which can be used within the constraints of conventional social studies courses are available.

To the extent possible, these materials should be designed and presented in such a way that they can be used by teachers who have not had the time, resources, or opportunities for extended study of the complex issues of philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy associated with developmental education. In the moral development area, the groundbreaking work on in-service education by Edwin Fenton, and the sophisticated, yet lucid, book by Hersh, Paolitto, and Reimer should make the essentials of developmental education more accessible to a wider audience.[3] Nonetheless, curriculum-developers should not assume that teachers will have a thorough working knowledge of developmental education. Thus, curriculum materials should be rich in detailed developmental activities for students, as well as in substantive content.

3. *Further refinement of the rationale for developmental social education is needed.*

Probably the most thorough argument for development as a general aim of education is that of Kohlberg and Mayer. (1972) The explication of the rationale, however, was not worked out specifically for the social studies. The rationale for moral development as a goal for the social studies is usually made in the context of citizenship education. A most succinct statement of such a rationale is that of Fenton in "A Developmental Approach to Civic Education." (1975) In essence, the rationale for pursuing development is that it is only at the higher stages of development that people are capable of understanding the principles of democracy, of adopting a social perspective in decision-making, and of acting consistently with those principles and perspectives.

Fenton's arguments set out a direction for developmental rationale-building to take. More work is needed. Developmentalists should, for example, construct a tighter argument for the relationship between development and the understanding of democratic principles. They need to show more precisely what constitutes higher-stage conceptions of democratic principles and to set out a detailed and elaborated justification for the claim that these conceptions are preferable to lower-stage conceptions. I believe that these arguments can be made and that the rationale for developmental social education can be refined in other ways.[4] We have not gone far enough in present-

[3]Fenton has been devoting his attention to teacher education and conducting workshops at Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh. Hersh, Paolitto, and Reimer's book (1979) is an outstanding presentation of the theory and practice of moral development education.

[4]See, for example, Shaver and Strong's work (1976). The authors do not completely adopt a developmental perspective, but their distinctions and issues are useful guides for the working out of a systematic rationale for citizenship education.

ing a persuasive rationale for developmental social education.

My preferred view of the future contains neither startling recommendations nor creative flourishes; I have presented a rather pedestrian agenda. Nonetheless, I believe it is an important one, for, as interest in developmental social education grows, there is always the danger of it being victimized by cultism or faddism. If my recommendations are followed, the chances for such an unfortunate outcome will be diminished and, I hope, the promise of developmental social education will come closer to realization.

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